

1. Roosevelt Talks With Democratic Leaders. Side 1. pt. 1, 0-850.
pt. 2, 850-1066. Friday, October 4, 1940.

FDR: And you see, look here now. I know, to be perfectly frank about these things, the prime minister of Japan has just given out an interview, which may or may not be true because they may deny it this afternoon, to Scripps - Howard, or the INS papers, in which he says that Japan would regard it as an act of war if we were to give aid and comfort to any of the enemies of Japan. Now, what d'ya mean? What does the word "attack" mean? I don't know. It's perfectly possible - not the least bit probable - I mean it's a, it's a - Jack Garner would say it's a 'a one-in-ten shot,' that Hitler and Mussolini, and Japan, united, might, ah, feel that if they could stop American munitions from flowing to England - planes, guns, ships, airplanes, ammunition, and so forth, that they could lick England.

Now, they might send us an ultimatum: "If you continue to send anything to England, we will regard that as an attack on us." I'll say, "I'm terribly sorry. We don't want any war with you. We have contracts, and under our neutrality laws any belligerent has a right to come and buy things in this country and take 'em away." They'll thereupon say: "Well, if after such and such a date you are continuing to ship munitions to England - and planes - we will regard you as a belligerent."

All right, what have we got to say on this?... I'll say, "I'm terribly sorry, we don't consider ourselves a belligerent. We're not going to declare war on you. If you regard us as a belligerent, we're dreadfully sorry for you, but we don't. Now, all we can say to you is that, of course, if you act on that assumption - that

we're a belligerent - and make any form of an attack on us - we're going to defend our own, not war, we're going to defend our own. And nothing further.

McCormack: Ah, they're trying to stop you from send ah -

FDR: Now, if that happens, of course, we'll be, I mean in that situation, we'll say: "We're not a belligerent, we're not fightin' y'ah, we're not at war with y'ah, but we decline to change the laws of the United States, we're going to defend ourselves and our present policy of neutrality." Now, there'll be in this country, if that happens, a great deal of, ah ah, scared feelings - panic. There'll be a lot of people that'll say: "My God, we ought to keep some of these planes back here. We haven't got enough of these planes - to defend ourselves. We ought not to send every other plane over to England. We haven't got enough antiaircraft guns - for Boston, and New York, and Washington, D.C." Sure, it's perfectly true. And there'll be a demand that we pull right in, inside of ourselves, and keep everything we're making for our own defense. And that's just what they want us to do.

Now, this morning, you know, you know the terrible attack on Lehman because of what Lehman said. It's perfectly true that the Axis Powers - there's no question about it - they'd give anything in the world to have me licked on the fifth of November. And the 'Times' yesterday morning comes out with one of those editorials. "Well! What Lehman said! Well, how does he get that? What do you mean that the Axis Powers want to defeat the President? Why, you're insinuating that, ah ah they, they are taking a course of interference in our, in our local affairs, and that they and

Willkie have some kind of an arrangement." But, Governor Lehman said, "No, I never said such a thing about they and Willkie had an arrangement. I am merely making a statement that they want to plot our defeat..."

This morning, front page of the 'Times,' Herbert L. Matthews, Rome, October 3, wireless to New York Times: "Moreover," - this is about this meeting of Hitler and Mussolini - "Moreover," - and I - this ought to be used and - I don't know, ah Steve, Steve referred to tell ----- about it from the Senate, I don't know who will defend my position - "Moreover, the Axis is out to defeat President Roosevelt, not as a measure of interference in the internal policies of the United States, but because of the President's foreign policy, and because of everything for which he stands in the eyes of the Italians and Germans. The coming United States election is realized to be of vast importance to the Axis. Therefore, the normal strategy for the Axis is to do something before November fifth that would somehow have a great effect on the electoral campaign." Now, if that isn't substantiation of what Lehman said!

Rayburn: The fellow is writing from Rome. (FDR: What?) He's writing from Rome. (FDR: Writing from Rome.)

McCormack: They didn't say anything about Landon's statement, where he deliberately accused you. I was surprised at him because I had very high regard for him. I didn't think Landon would stoop so low, even for political reasons, to ah make the statement that - the deliberate statement - that you were going to drag the United States into war. You saw the statement, didn't you, Mr. President?

FDR: (before McCormack is finished) Sure, I know, that was vicious, terrible. You know, ah, I mean that's a damn good thing, because, absolutely, we ought to put the front page of the 'Times' against the editorial page of the 'Times,' which is very amusing. Of course, the trouble with Willkie, as you know, his whole campaign - the reason he's losing - is that he will say anything to please the individual or the audience that he happens to talk to. It makes no difference what he has promised. JPM will come in and say, "Now, Mr. Willkie, please, will you, if elected, do thus and so?" "Quite so!" Then somebody else comes in and he says, "Of course I won't." McCormack: That's about the easiest thing...when you change from one minute to another.

Rayburn: Of course, the people that nominated him...and I say we got him...labor relations... (FDR: Sure.) because yesterday, (interruption by FDR) yesterday or the day before he said they ah ought to amend the laws ah to pick up this... (FDR sighs).

McCormack: As a matter of fact, this is a comment my wife said to me a couple of weeks ago, she said, "you know what Mr. Willkie reminds me of," I said, "Well, I'd like to know here," she said, "He reminds me of a carnival barker, one of those men who you know is cheating you, but wants to get you in... you know he's not telling you the truth, in order to get your money in."

FDR: Now, old Sam Rosenman was in this morning. I was fixin' up with him - going over the final draft of a little dedication speech tomorrow at three schoolhouses - and he got off on a very searching remark that I never thought of before. He said that you were right, that Willkie is using the tactics of Hitler, fascism. Hitler's

fascism, Naziism, based on the iteration, and reiteration, of the same thing, so often that after a while people are going to believe it. "I'm going to put nine million men at work." That's nice. "I'm going to put nine million men at work." That's very, very nice. And after he's said it thirty or forty times, well then he's made a real issue out of it. (tape here becomes momentarily garbled) "He's going to nine million men at work. Willkie is the fella who's going to put nine million men to work. I'll vote for him." It's the iteration - promise, promise, promise, every single morning, noon and night, the same thing. People, after a while get to believe it.

And of course, on the strategical end of things, I said in - about the first of August - I said you watch these polls, you watch the Republican timing of this campaign. I think the polls couldn't possibly make it Willkie. Let them show Willkie, ah, in pretty good shape the first part of August. Then they're going to put him through a bad slump, bad slump, so that I'll be well out ahead on the first of October. And my judgement is that they are going to start Willkie pickin' up, pickin' up, pickin' up, from the first of October on. And you know what a horse race is, it's like, what they're going to do is have their horse three lengths behind, coming around into the stretch. And then, in the stretch, in the first hundred yards, he gains a length, and the next hundred yards he gains another length, and gives people the idea that this fella still can win, he's got time to win, he can nose out the other horse. Now. I don't know (airplanes overhead) whether that's their game, but I'm inclined to think it 'tis. I'm wrong on my dates. They didn't start the first of October. Next Sunday, in the Gallup

poll, we'll have a great many - too many - votes handed to us, five hundred. (Airplanes continue.) A great many too many. (McCormack: What I tell you is - I think -) They're giving us New Hampshire. They're giving us Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and they'll probably put Connecticut at the bottom of the pile.

McCormack: There's, there's one underlying thought I think you ah focus on. I think the descendants of the early Anglo-Saxons - they're great Americans, don't particularly love England, but they hate Hitler. (FDR: Yes!) Now, I've found, up our way, a trend among people that never voted a Democrat. They're voting for President Roosevelt. (FDR: Yes!) They're not voting for any other Democrat. (FDR: No, no.) We've had men, we've had cases of men who are ah ah lifelong Republicans. They're declaring for the President on his foreign affairs, (FDR: Yes, I know.) because they know that that that you're the expression of their views.

FDR: Yeah? And right off, and this is perhaps a wish you probably would have thought, but that old Anglo-Saxon element, composed most of the undergraduates of Harvard College, all through New England, I'm hoping they'll offset the Italian defection. I'm speaking on the twelfth of October. (Interuption). I think it will make a difference. I'm talking on Columbus Day about Columbus being an Italian - splendid nation which contributed so much to all of our civilizations - prime stock, and so forth and so on - like the Latin Americans, the Spanish Americans, and I think they'll begin to come back. (chatter, then tape cuts off.)

pt. 2, Telephone Call From Cordell Hull.

FDR: Hello, hello Cordell. I did, I saw the dispatch itself. What I

did, the press asked me about it, the INS man, George Gerro. Where I said "I cannot comment, anyway, because I hadn't seen it." It's the easiest way. I said, "as a matter of fact, it may be a little garbled, being a special interview with the Japanese prime minister." The only kind of defense that completes silence is the best is "no comment." Don't you? (tape repeats, then continues.)

(Hull speaks to FDR)

FDR: Yeah, yeah; sure, sure; yeah, yeah; yeah, yeah, sure; yeah, yeah; yup, but we do feel that there is some - two days ago we recorded, which were way down on the bottom of the pages in the papers, doesn't that. The Scripps-Howard papers. They discussed some the president of the Japanese, I think it was the Japanese newspaper association or editorial association, stated their goals to Roy Howard. And, in the dispatch, it said to Mr. Howard that Japan does not want war, but as a condition of staying out of war, is that the United States will recognize the new era in the Far East and that in token of that recognition, ah to prove the recognition, the United States must abandon its bases, military or naval bases, in Guam, ah Midway, Pearl Harbor and Wake. Including Pearl Harbor. That's giving up a load. (Hull speaks again)

FDR: Yeah, uh-huh, yup, yup, yup, oh, uh-huh, yup, well... (cut off).

2. President Roosevelt Discusses the Activities of Roy Howard. Side 1, 1066-1375. Friday, September 6, 1940.

FDR: Now, what do we do about this? "Roy Howard, newspaper publisher, stopped in Bangkok last night between planes en route to various points in the Far East, including Chungking, Manila, and possibly Tokyo." (Aide: Yup.) Of course he's going to Tokyo. "Accompanied by the leading American businessman in Siam, Howard called to see me at the legation and launched into a bitter attack on the President, accusing him of bad faith in inviting him, Howard, to go on a mission to South America, alleging that he, the President, was down and out physically and mentally, that he had made a mess of our foreign affairs during the crisis, and that he is desirous of leading the country into war. Apparently Howard is out on a political junket to discredit the administration among the political and business leaders in the Far East, and at the same time to collect data for a subsequent attack on the administration's Far Eastern policy. He made a base statement to the effect that the administration had bungled the Japanese section and that the U.S. equivocally asked for relations between High Commissioner ----- and President Quezon on the basis of my recent contacts to the individuals in the mail." (Umhum) What do we do about a thing like this?

Aide: Mr. President, I just think that the best thing to do with that would be to put it into the speech-material file along with the other letters of record. (FDR: Yeah) I don't see that you can do anything else with it.

FDR: Yeah, but it is interesting.

Aide: Yes, very much. It ought to be made part of that record.

FDR: Now, here's one other thought. Who's running the U.P.?

Who?...Now, who is who is this man who is behind. Deak Parker?

Aide: Yes sir.

FDR: The Deacon.

Aide: What?

Aide 2: Deak Parker.

FDR: Now, I'm wondering if it isn't the best and most honorable thing to do, not to quote that it came from an American minister, but to the effect that we have received advices - we're not going to say the place - from the Far East that Howard is going around and saying in effect - then paraphrase it - and that we know about it.

Aide 2: No sir, I wouldn't tip him off. I wouldn't tip him off because he in turn would tip Howard off. I'd rather let Howard carry on for a little while.

FDR: He may do an awful lot of harm out there.

Aide 2: It's the harm that he'll do after he's getting back because undoubtedly if this is a political junket trip, as Grant says, what he's doin' is getting this material for Willkie. There's no doubt about that. (FDR: Sure.) But I, what I believe is that there's no chance whatever of stopping Howard. (FDR: No.) And to ah tip him off that we know about it - ah I think might operate to his advantage. (FDR: Yeah) At the present time, I'm afraid it would.

FDR: Um, Grace, I'll need that cabinet today.

Aide: And ah later on, Mr. President, we can make a paraphrase of that. (FDR: Yeah) We can hand it to Harold Ickes or somebody. (FDR:

Yeah) You see, that's what I'd do. (FDR: That's right.) (chatter)

Southerner: It is sneaky (FDR: What?) It is sneaky when you go around with that physical stuff.

FDR: Yeah, I'm willing to admit my mentality is slipping, but that's alright! (laughter) Well, tell him to come on in.

Southerner: I've got some things right here. The...attorney general wants to speak to you about the cabinet in a few minutes. Bob also has some important things. (FDR: Who?) Bob Jackson. (chatter) He wants to speak to you and ----- after the cabinet (FDR: Yes.)

Grace:...about her husband. Doesn't he? (FDR: No, he doesn't need a job.) Well, I thought it would be a good idea as long as he'd be going home to this thing tommorrow.

FDR: Is Harry going himself? Alright, then ask, ask Jesse, and we ought to administrate it. Connolly, call and confirm, (Yes) but if they're not here, they'll want a substitute.

Visitor: And now, to speak, she says she has an urgent message for you and anyone who wants to ----- (FDR: Sure).

Southerner: (sound of writing) That's a piece of literature that other St. Louis paper answering the 'Post Dispatch.'

FDR: (sound of writing) Fine, that's my special handwriting. This is a----- over my dead dog (laughter)...(chatter and conversation)...that's a legal thing...Ah TR, there's certain things about the new spelling way back, forty, thirtyfive years ago, that's crazy, and there were so many things that I could say abbreviated by commas in the sentence (cut off).

3. FDR Defends His Son. (With Conversations and Exhortations
Beforehand). Side 1, 1375-1637. September, 1940.

FDR: Now, do you got anything about what Willkie said?

Aide: Things he has said? (FDR: Yes) I've been cutting things out,
I never looked through the crowd this morning, back from him.

Aide 2: I think it would be better if you begin.

FDR: I know you're in a hurry, but I'd like to have it. If he gets
through with it, you see. I'd love to have it by Monday.

Gesundheit.

Aide: Yeah, yeah, I'll see if I can get up into it.

FDR: You see, that's one of the, that's one of the things that can
misrepresent people and fact.

Aide: At the end of this week,...at the end of this week he says,
see, that's, that's the diffrence between democratic system and
autocratic king. (FDR: Yeah) Have it by the end of the week, huh,
by the end of the week.

FDR: Now, now wait a minute, now wait a minute. How have these
things gone? Ah, democratic you conscript man. But autocratic -
(Aide: Well, I didn't say -) I know, but this is not for me, but as
you said this in effect - conscripts endlessly.

Aide: Yeah, as soon as I get packed, I'll take my----- out, it'll
look nice.

FDR: (chatter) ...You don't mind doing it. He wants to do it... It
can be arranged. I want Charlie to tell Steve that Charlie will do
it...anything that Steve says, yeah, and you've got to... (chatter)

Look, now here's a thing Lowell. Here's the thing that the
Republicans brought up and the only way to bring it out is by way

of attack, and you've got to attack. Somebody saying, "I am talking to fathers and mothers in this country, fathers and mothers of sons." What would you say in the following speech? Now, these are the facts. Now you've got a boy. You've got a boy who's thirty years old. He tried to get into the Naval Academy twelve years ago. They took one look at his eyes and said, "Why, heavens above, he could no more qualify than fly!" Thereupon, without going to college - mind you, a lot of the editorials say he went to college - Harvard, - he went into the airplane business, and he obtained a very great familiarity with the construction of planes.

(Interuption) He went into the radio business at the same time, and he knows the very definite relationship between air and radio communications to the ground. He's specialized in it - those two things - for the last ten years.

Alright, this is your boy. He got in, and served. He has his eyes checked. One eye can see two twentieths - two twentieths. The left eye can see three twentieths. He is told that going into the Army or the Navy, either one, he would be put into the home guard. They wouldn't possibly, they couldn't, put him in any active service in the Army or Navy, and they wouldn't do it.

He feels terribly bad. He still wants to serve. "When the war comes, I want to get in." He says, "I want to get in somewhere, take me in anywhere."

"What do you know?"

"Radio and planes."

"I'll say, well you're just the fellow - you're thirty years old - we're looking for as part of a special arm of the government

on the airplane program and we're taking in fourteen hundred men - we're looking for them all over the country - right now - to take into this great program." He says, "Alright. Love to do it. Put me to work. What can you put me in as? A private?"

"No."

"Well, I'm not asking to be an officer."

"Well," I say, "we're awfully sorry, but the only way we can take you in is as an officer." He says, "Alright, put me in as the lowest kind of officer." They say, "We can't do it. We have to put you in as a captain." He said, "I don't rate as a captain." "Well if you were thirty five, we'd put you in as a major. And the other men that are coming in, as specialists, would be, would -

(tape cuts off)

4. FDR Meets With Black Leaders. Side 1, 1637-1972. Setember 27, 1940.

Randolph: Certainly it would mean a great deal to the morale of the Negro people if ah you could make something up and allow Negroes to stay in the armed forces of the nation... it would have a tremendous -

FDR: (before Randolph is finished) I'm making a, I'm making a natioal defense speech around the middle of the month, about the draft as a whole, and what it'll be, and so forth, that thing got in.

Randolph: I thought I might say on the part of the Negro people, they feel they are not wanted in the armed forces of the country, and they feel they have earned the right to participate in every phase of the government by virtue of their record in past wars since the time of the Revolution. And consequently, we are without regards to political contexture, without regards to any type of ideal, Negroes were moved and they feel that they are being shunted about, and that they are not wanted now. (chatter)

FDR: The main point to get across is, in ah building up, as Jack Garner put it, the "draft," that we are not, as you saw so much in the World War, confining the Negro into the noncombat services. We're putting 'em right in, proportionately, into the combat services.

Randolph: We feel that's fine.

FDR: Which is something.

(A black leader other than Randolph says words to the effect that blacks ought to be given their own divisions or regiments, and the

opportunity to prove their value on their own. He claims this would be the surest proof that could be found of the Negro's ability, and that it would create the least amount of friction between the races.)

FDR: Now, the thing is, we've got to work within this. Now, take the, the divisional organization, what are you going to do with the division, about twelve thousand men? Yes, and ah, twelve, fourteen thousand men. Now suppose you have, ah, one, ah, what do they call those; what do they call those gun units?. What? One battery, would make you proof, and well, in there in that battery, like their from New York and another regiment, or battalion, that's a half of a regiment, of Negro troops. They go into a division, a whole division of twelve thousand, you may have a Negro regiment in the woods here, and right over here on my right in line would be a white regiment. In the same division. Maintain the divisional organization. Now what happens? After a while, in case of war, those people get shifted from one to the other. The thing gets sort of backed into. You have one one battery out of a regiment of artillery, ah, that would be a Negro battery, with a white battery at the end, maybe a nearby battery, and, and, gradually working in the field together, you may back into it. (chatter).

Randolph: It seems that idea is working in the field of organized labor. Now, for instance, there are unions where you have equal participation. (FDR: Yes) Where you even have Negroes who are (FDR: Yes) part of...and that's the same as the whites. And if it can work, if it can work out, on the basis of democracy in the trade unions, it can in the army, and-

FDR: Up on the Hudson River where Judge Parchman and I come from, we have a lot of brickworks, (Randolph: Oh, yes) up around Fishkill, the old brickworks, and heavens, they have the same union where the white workers and the Negro workers do most of the brickwork, and they get along, no trouble at all.

Leader: That's true, and when they come out of the union and into the army, there will be no justification for separating them.

Randolph: Secretary Knox, of the Navy, what's the position of the Navy on the intergration of the Negro into the Navy in com-

Knox: We have a factor in the Navy that is not so in the Army, and that is that these men live aboard ship. And in our history, we don't take Negroes into a ship's company, we don't sign Negroes to the list. And you can't have seperate ships with a Negro crew...

FDR: If you could have a Northern ship and a Southern ship, it would be different. But you can't do that. (he laughs, then chatter)...

Knox: I'm thinking through the President...the news conference -

FDR: Now, I think that the proportion is going up, from what has reached me, but in the old days, um up to a few years ago, up to the time of the Phillipine independent department, there was something like seventy-five or eighty percent of ah the mass of people on board ship, ah, were Filipino, and of course we've taken in no Filipinos now...taken in no Filipinos whatsoever. And what were doing, where we put them, with their color code, they are brown, next step, and so on and so forth, and in that field they can get up to, the hallowed ranking of a chief petty officer. (cut off)

5. FDR Talks With Secretary of the Navy Knox. Side 1, 1972-2275.

October 10, 1940.

Aide: There isn't a single Negro in the Navy, an officer. Four thousand seven Negroes out of a total force, at the begining of 1940, of one hundred thirty nine thousand, all blacks are enlisted men.

FDR: Another thing, another thing Frank, that ah I forgot to mention, I told you about a few months ago, and that is this. We are taking a certain number of musicians on board ship, ah the ship's band. There's no reason why we shouldn't have a colored band on some of these ships, because they're darned good at it. And that's something we should - (interrupted, chatter, then various:)

...make a colored for leader in the band...

...why?...

...Ah, the General is looking at me...

Knox: I'm on the defense, ah but a few points we talked of Monday. One is that if we try to...the men are going to think it's becoming a Negro boat, there is discrimination way down in the Navy. And the evidence in the matter is final...We've had contracts of forty-nine percent total...At seventy posts. At Pensacola, for example, there is ah improvement, it's difficult, very fine, four year course... The Navy feels they have a great interest (Right), an apprenticeship to the members of the board.

Aide: But Brown, Brown worked for the Army. (chatter)

FDR: I think we can work on that, get something done on it.

(chatter)

Aide: ...Right now, the problem sticks like glue. In Charleston,

South Carolina, they're practically all against - (FDR: In Charleston?) In Charleston, yes.

FDR: Now sit down, let's think...Now, of course in the development of this work, you got to have somebody, I think we should put somebody in the Navy; you ought to have somebody in the office who will look after - (Aide speaks then). In the Navy Department in the old days I had a boy who volunteered by the name of Pryor. You've met Pryor? He used to be my colored messenger in the Navy Department. A young kid, and Louis Howe was terribly fond of him. And when we came back here in thirty-three, Louis Howe said to me, "the one man I want for my office is Pryor." Well, Pryor, is now one of the best fellows we've got in the office and he handles all of my cases from the Department of Justice. He summarizes the whole thing. Haven't you met Pryor? A great boy. I'm talking about the old days. He was just a clerk in the Navy Department, and I used him. People come to him with any kind of question. Can we do this? Can we do that? Can we get another opening there? And he was of very, very great service. I think you can do that in the Army and Navy, get somebody colored who will act as a, well as a clearinghouse...(chatter and joking)...

Knox: If we try to give you the benefit of the, of the proof of the damage (Yeah)... and these are the positions, about eighty five American Legion...posts...(chatter)...and I feel we can lower this...and in the last war they were worried about Texans, and no Negroes sit in the White House.

FDR: I know, I know...Well, of course my letters have increased a bit from seven threatening letters a day to nearly forty. I feel

alright. (laughter).

Knox: And I'm proud to say that people don't like me too -
(laughter) Even in Congress!

FDR: (laughing) Even in Congress!

(tape apparently breaks off to a fragment of another conversation)

FDR: Whose benefit?

Visitor: Those on the committee.

FDR: Whose introducing them?...No, but I mean the fact is ...I
see...Alright... and then we'll make the speech and then end up the
speech by saying: "and now may I present these people," and have
them walk on.

6. President Roosevelt and His Aide Lowell Mellet Talk. Side 2, 0-821 (pt. 1) 821-1640 (pt. 2). Sometime between August 22 and August 27, 1940.

As the tape begins, the President is being told he has a visitor outside. His aides say, "You've met Mr. ----" And FDR tries to remember. He is told the visitor is "The man from the 'Guardian,'" just as his guest comes in and begins the conversation.

Visitor: Glad to see you.

FDR: It's been a long time, Mr. -----.

Visitor: Well you know, I read the editorials about...

FDR: The only thing in Hyde Park.

Visitor: That's right

FDR: How are things going? Tell me about the newspaper situation in England. You've had to cut down on the pages, haven't you, and now they have very small papers.

Visitor: (failing to annunciate properly) There are a couple of papers that come out, five pages.

FDR: I see, I see. I heard you met-----.

Visitor:-----I took her to Italy

FDR: How many more weeks to go do we have?

Aide: It looks like, it's something we have to look at each month.

(FDR: Yes) Start when we get to Portugal.

FDR: Let --- do it. (laughter)

Visitor: I'm waiting for the other side now.

FDR: Uh, Lowell, on this...ah...thing. I...I don't know if you remember, we were talking about the story...and so forth and so on. There was a guy once upon a time whose name was Daugherty, and he

helped run Harding's campaign against the Democrats. He was slick as hell. He went down, through an agent, to a Methodist minister in Marion, the town where Harding's mother and grandmother came from. This friend of Daugherty's got hold of the Methodist minister and told him the story about Harding's mother having a Negro mother. In other words, Daugherty planted it on the Methodist minister, who was a Democrat, and showed him certain papers that proved it, that proved the case. The Methodist minister, who was a Democrat, got all upset and he started the story all over the place. The press took it up, and it was the most horrific boomerang against us.

Now, I agree with you that there is, so far as the other man goes, we can't use it (tape garble) spread it as a word of mouth thing, or by some people way, way down the line. We can't have any of our principal speakers refer to it, but people down the line can get it out. I mean the Congress speakers and the state speakers, and so forth. They can use raw material as a matter of fact. Now, now, if they want to play dirty politics in the end, we've got our own people...Now, you'd be amazed at how this story about the gal is spreading around the country.

Mellett: It's out.

FDR:...Awful nice gal, writes for the magazine and so forth and so on, a book reviewer. Nevertheless, there is the fact. And one very good way of bringing it out is by calling attention to the parallel in conversation. Jimmy Walker, once upon a time, was living openly with this gal all over New York, including the house across the street from me...and she was an extremely attractive little tart...very happy. Jimmy and his wife had separated - for all

intents and purposes, they had separated. And it came to my trial - before me was Jimmy Walker, nineteen hundred and thirty two, and Jimmy goes and hires his former wife, for ten thousand dollars, to come up to Albany on a Saturday. Jimmy was a good Catholic and he hadn't been to church in five whole years - and he paid his wife ten thousand dollars to go up there, to Albany, on a Friday afternoon, after my trial had finished for the week - we were to go on on Monday. Jimmy had never spent a Sunday in Albany in his life, but Mrs. Walker comes up to Albany, lives with him ostensibly in the same suite in the hotel, and on Sunday the two of them go to Mass at the Albany Cathedral together. Price? Ten thousand dollars (laughter).

Now, now, Mrs. Willlike may not have been hired, but in effect she's been hired to return to Wendell and smile and make this campaign with him. Now, whether there was a money price behind it, I don't know, but it's the same idea.

Mellett: Doesn't have to be a money price. It's a nice place to live. (FDR: Uhmhum, uhmhum) I never heard the Daugh- (FDR: What?) the ah Daugherty planting that Negro story.

FDR: He planted it on us. (Mellett: Yeah) Did you know that?

Mellett: I didn't know he planted it. I knew the story, of course. I know that it was a very unwise story to disseminate, but I didn't know that-

FDR: Here's another interesting point.

Mellett: We may be using it, so go ahead.

FDR: Yeah.. Maybe you didn't know. Here's another interesting sidelight, an amusing situation. After we got licked that November,

Cox and I, Van-Lear Black came to see me in, ah, oh, I guess I went to see him in Baltimore, right after the election when I was going down to recuperate and shoot some ducks down in Louisiana, and I stopped off in Baltimore. And Van Black, whom I'd known rather slightly, he said, "Look, we want to make you the head of New York, New Jersey, and New England of the Fidelity and Deposit Company as vice-president."

I said, "Van, there are two considerations. I don't want to give up my law practice entirely, want to keep my hand in, keep my hand in. I will do this, if you let me, I'll make a contract to spend from one o'clock every day with the F&D. But up to one o'clock - noon - I'll be doing my law work. Your job with the F&D is partly giving out glad hand stuff, so I'll spend my lunch hour for you." I said, "The other condition is that you let me look over your list of officers and vice presidents. I've got to pick 'em. They may be alright, but I've got to pick 'em, myself."

He said, "That's fair enough," and went out. And there on the list was Daugherty, in charge of Ohio for the F&D.

I said, "Mr. Black, I can't do that."

"Well, he said, "he's been our agent there, he's handled all our legislative work in Ohio in the legislature and so forth, and I can't let him go. Well," he said, "I think he's going to the cabinet."

I said, "I think so too, but I can't work for a company that Daugherty remains in." So, in order to get me for the F&D, the F&D fired Daugherty outright.

Mellett; I delivered to you last week... concerning the candidate

for the (FDR: What?) the candidate for the governor. (FDR: Where?) Georgia.

FDR: The only thing I am, personally, in a position in, although I can't say so out loud, is to appeal to Talmadge.

Mellett: McCormack told me he'd win.

FDR: I think so.

Mellett: But they could only put -

FDR: All polls are for Talmadge, one or the other.

Mellett: He let me ask him, and I said it wouldn't happen. Is that right?

FDR: I told the delegation that came in, I said that for, and Eugene Cox was in here, and Walt Drolls, I said, "Listen boys, the vote for governor, I spend a lot of time there, and we need a good governor. And from what I hear, Talmadge is going to be elected, unless..." And I said, "I don't know, the weaker one of the two may be equally strong," but these fellows won't tell me which is the weaker of the two. "Now, I don't know. I am merely giving you a piece of advice. Yet none of them should pull out of the race." And then I turned to the delegation and said, "Look here. The question of who's the stronger, Nix or ours, the answer is who can go back to the awkward center, the caucus home." Well, they went out laughing, and that's the way things stayed.

Aide: The picture taken up at the front at the Times, I saw that last night, and...

FDR: Fine, fine.

Mellett: The sun came out, it was just right.

FDR: I didn't need any paint on my face. (chatter)...Yeah, Alright.

Now, now, ask, ask the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy if they would approve a meeting here on Monday, and would they telephone to the committee and ask if Tuesday be alright (Aide: instead of Monday) instead of Monday, to meet an hour. I think it's a good idea. Oh, ah get a hold of Dan, and tell Dan I want some maps on the Potomac, if not, on the charts, showing the entire layout of Newfoundland. I want large scale, no small scale stuff, large scale stuff...east coast of Nova Scotia. (Tape here become inaudible, then cuts off).

pt 2: Here President Roosevelt and his aides are solving problems concerning the dispensation of Federal patronage jobs, and sifting through the assortment of requests sent by the party leaders throughout the nation. The tape succeeds in capturing the atmosphere of a sleeves-up work session in the oval office, with simultaneous conversations while people are making suggestions and jotting notes. Much of it is impossible to decipher, yet it is not necessary that all that is spoken be clear for the listener to achieve an understanding of the tone of the session. The image of FDR, relaxing at his desk, cigarette holder in hand, humored by the activities of the notorious Hauge of Jersey City, and reciting letters explaining why such and such a candidate will not be appointed, is one that allows a more complete view into the daily activities of the people of the oval office.

FDR: (Amid random conversations) Arnold?

Aide: Nine million dollars.

Aide 2: I think it's good pay!

Aide 3: Without working. Pay without working! (Laughter about the room)

Aide 1: Pay without work! (Chatter, as various conversations are engaged).

FDR: They can't print that...What are you doin' Frank? (The tape here becomes extremely fuzzy. Then,)

FDR: (FDR explains his itinerary) Well, I'm leaving tonight on the midnight and I'm going to Hyde Park...and on Thursday New Orleans, then Sunday night...then to Chattanooga, get there Monday morning...and ah then right down to Charleston...and get back here Wednesday night. (The tape becomes extremely unpleasant at this time).

Aide: Well, I'm here, so is everybody, I think...

Aide 2; (after some incoherent talk) I think that'd go alright, don't you?

FDR: Yes, now which fellow was which judged alive, and which was killed?

Aide: Ah, now I think it was ah James who ah (FDR: Yeah) (both:) killed.

Aide 2: Ah, yeah, before the last election, Charlie Pickery, from Louisiana. We got a ah a reconciliation? (more incoherency)

FDR: Do that, ah, the old boy. That's very smart. You never spare anything, for it matters.

Aide: Charlie paid him ten thousand dollars, and ah there was more scandal about Charlie... Hauge says he's unfit, but Hauge says he's also got to write you a letter saying ah he's alright (chuckle), but he doesn't mean it. This fellow, ah Charlie, has just been one

thing after another.

FDR: It's very simple, send him a letter saying we cannot appoint Charlie. Give me another name... (tape is momentarily unintelligible) Find somebody else. I gave him three separate chances, and every time. Number one man? No! Number two man? No! Number three man? No! Three strikes are out. I'm putting in Saunders.

Aide: This fella Charlie is (whispering) right on the corner.

Aide 2: Ah, now, ah, um, there just might be other situations that -

FDR: How about we'll be ----J up there? Can you get him out, free.

Aide: I mean a D.A.

FDR: One's a judge, one's a district attorney, one's a marker.

Aide: He's coming down, and he wants to bring ----- down, and he's coming down and going to try to work something out.

FDR: Hauge is a, Hauge is a lot of trouble...therefore your proposal is cancelled, it is impossible, give me another name.

(chatter)

Aide: In Chicago, (Yes)... we'll have to tell him that the fellow appointed was involved in a rape... you have the responsibility, I have your authority.

FDR: If I actually hired this man, and this is a campaign, they could make a nice little issue, you can't talk to the nation.

Aide: He admitted...

Aide 2: He's the fella that raped the girl in his office and paid three thousand dollars to get off -

FDR: Three thousand dollars, and he's led a clean life, so far as we know, ever since. (speech becomes incoherent).

FDR: That's Tom Paine.

Aide: Tom Paine from -----'s office (more chatter)

FDR: Prepare another letter from me: "Dear Christie, Bob Wagner, as you know, has for years pleaded ah for the appointment of Ripkin. I don't see how I can confirm this. You said, "Franklin, Ripkin is qualified." (He is, too.) Now say, paragraph, ----sent me a very high class name for the other position. I feel Paine is...."

(chatter)

Aide 2: It's like (FDR: What?) It's like sixty years ago. (FDR: Yeah).

Aide: Ah, two other matters, Ah, we're holding a set of -----s. I don't know what you want to do about it.

FDR: I'm holding it now.

Aide: And ah, we have ours, a situation in which Gillette wants the amount...on the market. He has proof we can expect a fight here. Ah I think the thing to do is...no later, put the other thing on the desk, and he'll come down a bit. I don't believe it's best to try to bargain with him.

FDR: I think your right. Please get those ready...

Aide: Now, ah, I said I'm going...for Labor Day and ah...

FDR: I may have to have your opinion in the mean time...Now, how about that, Steve?...

Steve Early: (chatter) Now that's the best I can give you...of what I can get from Bigger. Now yesterday... these are actually (noise in the background). Now, between the Navy and the Army, and the

Treasury, the Treasury gets reports from manufacturers. (FDR: Yeah) Then, they say there's so many planes on the way. They are, according to those figures of the Treasury Department. (FDR: Yeah) But Mr. President, they may be able to be built. I know letters that have the intention (FDR: Yeah), and I got a typical letter of intention here for you. (FDR: Yeah) And I could get one. This letter was sent to indicate the intentions of the program of building airplanes. Then they go to work (yeah) and they hire their subcontractors (yeah) and they go to work (yup). Now here in this full report from Jack Biggers. Mr. President, in addition to this... figure here which I gave you here, the Army has three thousand some planes. Now out -(interruption) in letters of intention... and the Navy has six hundred, in the letters of intention. Now, Mr. President, now, excuse me, the, the War Department -

Aide: ...The government says the planes are being built until they find a pilot. (Yup) Now, bear in mind please the increments that the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy ask of the government for a number of planes, combat planes (yeah), not training (yeah), on the other hand the public may wonder why we need all of these combats if planes are needed to learn to fly. Awkward position. We ask for combat only (yeah)...For this type of aircraft, it's a hundred days...we could build up to a possible fifty thousand planes.

FDR: I have no authority of that kind...

Aide: Made one, not two months before they take to the air...

Steve Early: But, Mr. President, on June 28, two days before they

were to set to take to the air, the Congress of the United States passes a law that reduces the margin of profit on income twelve to eight percent... (yeah), and all the contracts that were piling up on Louis Jenkins' desk in the War Department, has to be rewritten...

Aide: Those profits don't mean so much.

Steve Early: On the 28th of June when this act passed the Congress, it's all wrecked and has to be rewritten. (Why?) Because there was a volume of them that falls back to contractors, the manufacturers, the disgust with them with the reduction from twelve percent profit down to eight and so forth. This is for negotiation and renegotiation of each contract, that was made by the committee. (cut off) (See attached xerox from the President's secretary's file for the document Early was speaking from.)

7. President Roosevelt Talks About Japanese Demands side 2, 1640-1844.

scene: oval office (feeling of levity and informality)

enter: unidentified visitor.

Visitor: Ah, I told uh (FDR: Wally) I told Wally if you have a couple of minutes.

FDR: How've you been? Sit down, sit down.

Visitor: Do you have Mike on your mind?

Aides, FDR, in chorus: No, no, no.

Visitor: What would the government do without (laughing)? Let's ask Wally. I'm gonna try, ah. Wally, ah, you have seen in the newspapers the thing about the FBI, reported, did you read that?

Wally: Oh yeah, of course I've seen it.

FDR: There's a government scuffle, I knew it, I knew the facts, and it's never occurred to me, I never thought it.

Visitor: And I'm on it, checking every crumb, believe me.

FDR: Well.

Aide: You gave this way to put it in your powers.

Various: ...I don't care...

...I can't really say I'm certain...

...FBI... (when FDR interrupts and puts the conversation on a more serious level).

FDR: Look, well here's one thing I wanted to ask ah our friend, the Scripps-Howard papers about. (laughs) Now look, before you read that, I want to ask you this. Ah, Roy the other day, received a telegram, apparently, which he published, I think, I think U.P. carried, all U.P. did, a telegram as I remember it, from the chief

of the Japanses press association (Visitor: Micanaba) What? Is he (Visitor: Micanaba) uh huh, right, he's an old friend of ah Roy's. In which, now, who, whatever his name was, said the damndest thing that ever happened, it may stir up bad feelings in this country and this country, is ah ready to pull the trigger if the Japs do anything. I mean, we won't stand their nonsense, public opinion won't, in this country, from the Japs if they do some fool thing. Now, this Micanaba fella wires to Roy and said, "There will be no war with the United States," I'm quoting from memory, "on one condition, and one condition only. And that is that the United States will recognize the new era in," not the Far East, but "the East," meaning the whole East. "Furthermore, that this recognition, there must be evidence of it, and the only evidence of this recognition that the United States can give is to demilitarize all of its naval and air and army bases in Wake, Midway and Pearl Harbor!" God, that's the first time that any damn Jap told us to get out of Hawaii! And that has me more worried than any other thing in the world than...(interruption), a responsible (interruption). What?

Aide 1: The question is, how responsible is this Mogadeer? (sic)

Visitor: ...head of the Press Association, an old timer, right?...

Aide 2: They say he was involved in a corrupt way...

FDR: I see.

Aide: And ah, I think he has no responsibility to the ----- of any kind.

Aide 2: When they a... a mockingbird, the government, a mockingbird, a total mockingbird, all the press association, so is

his outfit. (FDR: I see.) (chatter)

Visitor: That's something else.

FDR: They with the opening of the Burma Road on the 17th, that's a pretty definite challenge on the part of the British. And the only thing that worries me is that the Germans and the Japs have gone along, and the Italians, for, ah five, six years, without their foot slipping, without their misjudging, foreign opinion. They played a very smart game and there are only a few chances they could get from doing that all the time, and they could do something foolish...And the time may be coming when the Germans and the Japs will do some fool thing. That would put us in, that's the only real danger of our getting in, is that their foot will slip.

ADDRESS OF RETIRING GOVERNOR AND
PRESIDENT-ELECT FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
AT THE INAUGURATION OF GOVERNOR LEHMAN OF NEW YORK

January 2, 1933

On taking leave of you my friends, my neighbors and my associates, after four years in Albany, I could not fail to have many regrets at the parting. They have been happy years - made more so by the loyalty and common purpose of the many men and women who have so unselfishly aided me in the conduct of the administrative government of the State. To all of you who have been my colleagues, from the members of my cabinet on through all of the ranks of the Departments and the Civil Service, I extend my personal appreciation.

I have seen much of government of many kinds, and in many places, and I do not hesitate to say to the people of this State that their public servants in the Executive branch of the State Government take high rank for faithful service and high integrity.

Four years ago it fell to me to succeed a Governor who had set a standard founded on unselfish effort and a keen understanding of the needs of the people of the State. To maintain a government of definite action founded on liberal thought has been my aim. It is, therefore, of special moment both to Governor Smith and to myself that we see today the responsibility that was ours, passing into the hands of

Governor Lehman.

Any Executive who has been able to put into practical effect a philosophy of government, a measure of accomplishment that transcends mere theory or the mere duties of routine administration, must rejoice that the thirteen million human beings within the borders of our State are to be led for at least two years to come by one who understands human needs and has the purpose to meet them.

A clear view must include all functions of governing. The Governor of this State, while giving full recognition to the desirability of home-rule in local affairs, must, at the same time, encourage every sensible effort to improve the efficiency of local government. Though we have been negligent in the past, the very times in which we live have focused attention on the comparative inefficiency in almost all of our lesser units.

The sovereignty of the state - in other words the people themselves - are, in my judgment rightly, asking both structural changes and the elimination of unessential personnel and of unnecessary functions. Therein lies a definite relationship between the state governments and the localities themselves.

Less well-defined but of great importance, nevertheless, is another relationship -- that between the government of the State and the Government of the federal union. The crisis

has brought new problems, and at the same time, new possibilities, whereby Washington and the several state capitals may become more mutually helpful - especially in the matters which with increasing frequency involve overlapping functions. It is time to define more clearly where the federal machinery of government ends, and where the state machinery of government begins. It is time likewise for closer contacts between the President and the Governors.

That is another reason why I rejoice today in the privilege of taking part in the inauguration of my long-time friend and colleague, Governor Lehman. I shall have a friend in Albany and he will have a friend in Washington. In the years to come, may the people of our State give to him the same fine loyalty which they have been good enough to give to me.

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY PRESIDENT-ELECT ROOSEVELT

Roanoke, Virginia

January 20, 1933

(The President came out on the back platform of his car which was attached to his special train and merely addressed the audience, saying, "I am glad to see you all; I hope you will all come down on the fourth of March." The audience then gave him three cheers and, as the train pulled slowly out of the station, somebody in the audience said, "Give my best regards to Herbert when you get back." (Laughter))

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY PRESIDENT-ELECT ROOSEVELT
SHEFFIELD, ALABAMA

January 21, 1933

(The President was introduced by Governor Miller
of Alabama.)

Governor Miller, My Friends:

I think I can almost say, "My neighbors", because, from my little cottage at Warm Springs, from Pine Mountain which lies back of it, I can look into Alabama. (Applause)

I am here for two reasons: The first is to fulfill a promise made to myself because, during the campaign, I said that I wanted to see Muscle Shoals. (Applause) The other is that I do not believe that any person in the world can act or make a recommendation in regard to any great project unless he has seen the project himself. (Applause)

So, today, I am looking forward with the greatest of interest to seeing this particular part of the Tennessee Valley. I am very confident that the distinguished gentlemen who are with me from the Congress of the United States will be able to work with me and get something practical done. (Applause)

Every single part of the United States is represented here today. Senator Morris is the author of Muscle Shoals. (Applause) Senator Dill, who has taken such a great interest in

the power question as a whole, comes from the Pacific northwest. (Applause) Mr. Scattergood is a gentleman who has done so much to build up the use of electricity in the Southwest. (Applause) And, finally, another section of the country is well represented by the gentleman who has been for some years the chairman of my own Power Authority in the State of New York and he represents the great St. Lawrence Development. (Applause) So you might say that all four corners of the United States are here today.

We are here because the Muscle Shoals Development and the Tennessee River Development as a whole are national in their aspect and are going to be treated from a national point of view. (Applause)

And so, my friends, I am looking forward with the greatest of pleasure to my day here. It is going to give me a great advantage in putting Muscle Shoals back on the map. (Prolonged applause).

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY PRESIDENT-ELECT ROOSEVELT

FLORENCE, ALABAMA

January 21, 1933

My friends, I have always believed that when a Government or an individual is engaged in any great project, one of the first things which those who have the responsibility ought to do is to see the place of the project.

I am very grateful to you for this perfectly fine welcome and I hope to come back here to Muscle Shoals and the Tennessee Valley some day and find all of the great power possibilities of this Valley being used to the utmost. (Applause)

May I take this occasion to say that I have been greatly impressed this morning with the splendid work that the Army has done in keeping this plant in proper repair. It is ready for us to put it to some practical use and the Army is to be much commended. (Applause)

It has been an extremely interesting thing for me to see and I am greatly impressed, not only with the possibilities of the future but with the size of the dam and the size of the plant the Government has built. It is a nation-wide project in its size and is therefore of interest not only to this section of the nation but to every other section.

I am glad to have been with you.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

DECATUR, ALABAMA

January 21, 1933

My friends, I am very glad to come here to Decatur. This is the first time in my life that I have seen this part of the State by daylight; I have gone through on other occasions at night.

I am tremendously impressed with this wonderful Tennessee Valley. I am very glad to have seen Muscle Shoals with my own eyes. I am glad because I have been reading so much about it for the past twelve or fourteen years but I knew that nothing had ever been done about it and I thought perhaps it was just a myth. (Laughter)

With the help of the Congress of the United States we are going to put Muscle Shoals and the Tennessee Valley back on the map of the United States. (Laughter)

About three weeks ago I left Albany and now, I understand, I am back in Albany. (Laughter) You know, I have very often heard of thousands of people but it is not often that you will see acres of people like there are here today.

I am very grateful to you who have come out and I hope to be able to come back here again soon, when conditions are better, and see you all again. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF PRESIDENT-ELECT ROOSEVELT
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

January 21, 1933

My friends, I am very glad to come to Birmingham to have this wonderful welcome from your Mayor and from all of you and also to see my old friend, Judge Fitts, who did so much to make my nomination possible last summer. (Applause)

I have had a very interesting day today in northern Alabama, seeing something I have heard of through all these years -- a great plant built by the United States Government and now lying idle. I want to make that great plant work once more for the people of the United States. (Applause)

You know, you good people in this State are very close neighbors of mine because in Warm Springs, Georgia, all I have to do is to go up to the top of Pine Mountain behind my cottage and, from there, I can look into the State of Alabama.

I am glad to be here as the guest of the State. I am going down tonight to be the guest of Governor Miller. I wanted to stop off in Birmingham but the good people in Mobile said that if I came here and stopped off I would have to come down there too and so the only place I can go is to the Capitol of the State. But I hope to be able to come back here some time and see you again. In the meantime let me express to you the hope that some day in the near future the tune that my fellow members of the American Legion has been playing, "Happy Days Are Here Again" is going to come true. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY PRESIDENT-ELECT ROOSEVELT
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

January 21, 1933, 7.30 P.M.

(The President made his address from the steps of the State Capitol. He was introduced by Governor Miller.)

Governor Miller, My Friends and neighbors of Alabama:

This meeting tonight is a fitting climax to one of the most interesting days that I have ever spent. It is a great privilege to me to stand in this sacred spot where a great American took oath of office as the President of the Confederacy. (Applause)

I have been thinking, as I came here through the State, of how little the younger generation in the South and in the North know today of the failings and the effects that were brought out by the war between the States. I am not so very old -- just half a century, that is all -- and yet even I, in my boyhood, can remember the troubles and the difficulties within a family that were caused by that war. As some of you may know, one of the Roosevelts married into a Georgia family and I can remember, as a small boy, that two very distinguished gentlemen, intimately connected with the Navy of the Confederacy -- mind you, this was in the 80's -- came to New York to visit the Roosevelt family and, because those two brave and distinguished officers had fought in

the Navy of the Confederacy, there were some Roosevelts who still regarded them as "Pirates".

Now, that is hard to understand by the younger generation in all parts of this country and yet that was less than half a century ago that that happened. I know, and I am glad to know that my own daughter who is with me today and all the rest of my children and all of the younger generation just laugh heartily at hearing brave officers of the Confederate Navy referred to as pirates. (Applause)

Now, the war between the States is not only over but, here in the birthplace of the Confederacy, I believe that I can say and be rightly understood in the North, in the South, in the East and in the West that in many ways that war between the States has done more than anything else to bind the nation into a unified whole. (Applause)

I am particularly happy, as one who is about to occupy another White House, to have had the privilege of seeing the first White House of the Confederacy as I turned the corner to come here to the Capitol. (Applause)

This morning, early, I saw with my own eyes what I have been waiting to see ever since the days when I served in Washington as a Lieutenant of that great Democrat and great American President, Woodrow Wilson. (Applause) I was not only impressed with the size of the great operation at Muscle Shoals but I can tell you frankly that it was at least twice as big as I ever had any

conception of it being. It was distressful to me and I think it was distressful to almost every other member of the party, for we had with us distinguished members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, together with engineers and others from every part of the United States, I think we were all distressed by the fact that so much of that great plant has been lying in idleness all these years. My friends, I determined on two things as a result of what I have seen today. The first is to put Muscle Shoals to work. (Applause) The second is to make of Muscle Shoals a part of an even greater development that will take in all of that magnificent Tennessee River from the mountains of Virginia down to the Ohio and the Gulf. (Applause)

Muscle Shoals is more today than a mere opportunity for the Federal Government to do a kind turn for the people in one small section of a couple of States. Muscle Shoals gives us the opportunity to accomplish a great purpose for the people of many States and, indeed, for the whole Union, because there we have an opportunity of setting an example of planning, planning not just for ourselves but planning for the generations to come, tying in industry and agriculture and forestry and flood prevention, tying them all into a unified whole over a distance of a thousand miles so that we can afford better opportunities and better places for millions of yet unborn to live in in the days to come. (Applause)

So, my friends, I believe that the Governor was right in at least one sense when he spoke of this being a red-letter day

because I am convinced that what was seen by the Members of the national Senate and the national House of Representatives and what was seen by your President-Elect means that just as soon as we possibly can up in Washington we are going to start something practical, useful and necessary. (Applause)

My one regret in coming here is that it is dark and I shall not have the opportunity tonight of seeing this wonderful old city. I hope it will be my privilege, my friends, to come back here some day from Warm Springs, to come back when the sun is shining.

And I will always regard this as a red-letter day for another reason, because I have had the opportunity to come here and stand where Jefferson Davis once stood. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS
OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

February 4, 1933

My friends, I am very glad to be here and very grateful to you for this wonderful reception that you have given me. I am glad to be here as the guest of my friends the Governor of Florida and your Mayor. By the way, I discovered that your Mayor and I, are kin (laughter) because we discovered that his fifth cousin married my fifth cousin. (Laughter)

I am glad to come back here after an absence of seven years and to note the splendid progress that has been made here.

I wish I could stay with you longer but, as you know, I am pushing off to the unknown seas and my friends of the press and the photographers have been good enough to agree to give me a complete holiday for ten whole days. Of course, there is another side to that, because I told them that if anybody attempts to interview me or to photograph me for ten days they are going to be court martialed and shot before sunrise.

I wish I could stay with you longer. I am

grateful to you and I hope to come back and see you all
very soon.

Many thanks.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS
BY PRESIDENT-ELECT ROOSEVELT
MIAMI, FLORIDA
February 15, 1933, 9.30 P.M.

(The crowd numbered approximately 20,000. This address was delivered following the President-Elect's return from his cruise. The attempted assassination followed immediately upon completion of this address.)

Mr. Mayor, my friends of Miami:

I am not a stranger here because for a good many years I used to come down here. I have not been here for seven years, but I am coming back, for I have firmly resolved not to make this the last time. (Applause)

I have had a very wonderful twelve days' fishing in these Florida and Bahama waters. It has been a wonderful rest and we have caught a great many fish, but I am not going to attempt to tell you any fishing stories. (Laughter) The only fly in the ointment on my trip has been that I have put on about ten pounds so that means that among the other duties that I shall have to perform when I get North is taking those ten pounds off.

I hope very much to be able to come down here next winter and to see all of you and to have another wonderful ten days or two weeks in Florida waters.

Many thanks.

JCF Dec 4, 1997

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Washington, D. C.
March 4, 1933

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself -- nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunken to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
In American Legion National Broadcast
March 5, 1933

I am glad that this, the first word addressed by me to the people of the country, can be dedicated to the great ideals of sacrifice and service. The men of the Legion and indeed all veterans, and all good citizens know that the essential things of life are related intimately to those two great words.

The men of the ranks of the Legion, in the trying days of fifteen years ago, offered for the welfare and preservation of our country the ultimate contribution that a human can give.

The deep necessities of peace are no less serious. It is a mistake to assume that the virtues of war differ essentially from the virtues of peace. All life is a battle against the forces of nature, against the mistakes and human limitations of man, against the forces of selfishness and inertia, of laziness and fear.

These are enemies with whom we never conclude an armistice.

To the end that the efforts I am giving in these first days of my administration may be crowned with success

and that we may achieve a lasting restoration of national well-being, I invite the support of the men of the Legion and of all men and women who love their country, who know the meaning of sacrifice and who, in every emergency, have given splendid and generous service to the nation.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BEFORE THE GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE
AT THE WHITE HOUSE
March 6, 1933

I have been so occupied since noon on Saturday that I have not had any chance to prepare any formal remarks. I start off by saying to the Governors and their representatives that as a Governor myself for the past four years I am somewhat on intimate terms with the duties of Governors and also with the rights and duties of States. The country needs cooperation between the States and the Federal Government. I think this has been well demonstrated by the events of the past 48 hours.

The States acted with remarkable promptitude in preventing a panic at a time when it might well have developed. The situation, however, did get to the point yesterday where some kind of uniform action seemed necessary, and as you know resulted in two things -- the calling of a Special Session of Congress for Thursday, and secondly, a proclamation to take care of immediate emergency between now and Thursday.

In that proclamation there were four or five main objectives. The first one was to prevent the withdrawal of any further gold and currency. The old War Statute of 1917

had not been repealed and we used it. It was an exceedingly useful instrument. The second objective was to provide some form of circulating medium for the country in addition to the outstanding currency, because a large part had been put into hiding. I have confidence the public will accept that circulating medium.

We should provide some method by which banking can go on with new cash coming in. It is proposed through the Treasury Department that every bank will be authorized to open new accounts, and the money so deposited in the new accounts can be withdrawn at any time. The only way in which that money can be kept absolutely safe beyond peradventure of doubt is by using methods to keep it safe -- first keeping the money in cash the way it is put in; secondly, depositing it in the Federal Reserve Bank, and third, purchasing Government bonds with it.

Recognized Government bonds are as safe as Government currency. They have the same credit back of them. And, therefore, if we can persuade people all through the country, when their salary checks come in, to deposit them in new accounts, which new accounts will be held in trust, and the money kept in one of the new forms I have mentioned, we will have made progress.

All I can say is I am very grateful for what the States have done in this emergency and we want if possible to have a general banking situation, that is to say covering National Banks and State Banks, as uniform as possible throughout the country and at the same time we want to cooperate with all of the States in bringing about that uniformity. I have no desire to have this matter centralized down here in Washington any more than we can help. I don't believe there is much more to say about banking.

The letter that I sent to you took up several matters: Conflicting taxation between Federal and State Governments. Every one of you have been seeking methods to find new sources of taxation. It has been natural and human to expect that the Federal Government should try to find some method of raising revenue.

A second question relates to Federal aid in unemployment relief. The Federal Government, of course, does have to prevent anybody from starving but the Federal Government should not be called upon to exercise that duty until other agencies fail. The primary duty is that of the locality, the city, county, town -- if they fail and cannot raise enough to meet the needs, the next responsibility is on the States and they have to do all they can, and if it is proven

that they cannot do any more and the funds are still insufficient, it is the duty of the Federal Government to step in.

We come to the question of coordinating work. It is very difficult to know in the Federal Government what States are doing well for unemployment relief and what States are not, and it is my thought that I can create some kind of central relief agency which will be a fact-finding body, which will coordinate the work of States, and act as a clearing house for the relief of the Nation. I hope to get that set up in the next two or three weeks.

The third proposition, the reorganizing and consolidation of local government to reduce the taxation cost. That is your problem and it has been my problem for the past four years.

And there is the question of mortgage foreclosures especially on farm land and also on small homes. There again we haven't a national policy. Some of the States are doing it one way and another State is doing it another way. Some States and some localities are closing their eyes to existing laws and do not have any foreclosures. As yet we have no national policy for it, but I believe we can have one.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Before the Special Session of the Governing Board
of the Pan American Union
Pan American Day, Washington, April 12, 1933, 11.00 A. M.

I rejoice in this opportunity to participate in the celebration of "Pan American Day" and to extend on behalf of the people of the United States a fraternal greeting to our sister American Republics. The celebration of "Pan American Day" in this building, dedicated to international goodwill and cooperation, exemplifies a unity of thought and purpose among the peoples of this hemisphere. It is a manifestation of the common ideal of mutual helpfulness, sympathetic understanding and spiritual solidarity.

There is inspiration in the thought that on this day the attention of the citizens of the twenty-one Republics of America is focused on the common ties, -- historical, cultural, economic, and social, -- which bind them to one another. Common ideals and a community of interests, together with a spirit of cooperation, have led to the realization that the well-being of one nation depends in large measure upon the well-being of its neighbors. It is upon these foundations that Pan Americanism has been built.

This celebration commemorates a movement based upon the policy of fraternal cooperation. In my inaugural address

I stated that I would "dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor -- the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others -- the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors." Never before has the significance of the word "good neighbor" been so manifest in international relations. Never have the need and benefit of neighborly cooperation in every form of human activity been so evident as they are today.

Friendship among nations, as among individuals, calls for constructive efforts to muster the forces of humanity in order that an atmosphere of close understanding and cooperation may be cultivated. It involves mutual obligations and responsibilities, for it is only by sympathetic respect for the rights of others and a scrupulous fulfilment of the corresponding obligations by each member of the community that a true fraternity can be maintained.

The essential qualities of a true Pan Americanism must be the same as those which constitute a good neighbor, namely, mutual understanding, and, through such understanding, a sympathetic appreciation of the other's point of view. It is only in this manner that we can hope to build up a system of which confidence, friendship and goodwill are the cornerstones.

In this spirit the people of every Republic on our continent are coming to a deep understanding of the fact that the Monroe Doctrine, of which so much has been written and spoken for more than a century, was and is directed at the maintenance of independence by the peoples of the continent. It was aimed and is aimed against the acquisition in any manner of the control of additional territory in this hemisphere by any non-American power.

Hand in hand with this Pan-American doctrine of continental self-defense, the peoples of the American Republics understand more clearly, with the passing years, that the independence of each Republic must recognize the independence of every other Republic. Each one of us must grow by an advancement of civilization and social well-being and not by the acquisition of territory at the expense of any neighbor.

In this spirit of mutual understanding and of co-operation on this continent you and I cannot fail to be disturbed by any armed strife between neighbors. I do not hesitate to say to you, the distinguished members of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, that I regard existing conflicts between four of our sister Republics as a backward step.

Your Americanism and mine must be a structure built

of confidence, cemented by a sympathy which recognizes only equality and fraternity. It finds its source and being in the hearts of men and dwells in the temple of the intellect.

We all of us have peculiar problems, and, to speak frankly, the interest of our own citizens must, in each instance, come first. But it is equally true that it is of vital importance to every nation of this continent that the American Governments, individually, take, without further delay, such action as may be possible to abolish all unnecessary and artificial barriers and restrictions which now hamper the healthy flow of trade between the peoples of the American Republics.

I am glad to deliver this message to you, Gentlemen of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, for I look upon the Union as the outward expression of the spiritual unity of the Americas. It is to this unity which must be courageous and vital in its element that humanity must look for one of the great stabilizing influences in world affairs.

In closing, may I refer to the ceremony which is to take place a little later in the morning at which the Government of Venezuela will present to the Pan American Union the bust of a great American leader and patriot, Francisco de Miranda. I join with you in this tribute.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Before the Annual Dinner of the
Chamber of Commerce of the United States
Washington, D. C., May 4, 1933, 10.00 PM

Because of a national and a world situation which has taken every moment of my time during the past two months I have had to forego the privilege of discussing many matters of common interest with the members of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. For the same reason, frankly, I have had neither time nor opportunity to prepare for you tonight any complete phase of our national problems.

I do not have to tell you that the Government of the United States in its executive and legislative branches has been seeking and obtaining action relating to our own internal economy and to initiation of a cooperative spirit among all the nations of the world. We have sought through moderate and wise measures to increase the volume of trade, to give employment to the unemployed and to effect a broad elevation of commodity prices.

I present to you three requests. During the past few weeks we have witnessed with a slight but definite upturn in most industries, a simultaneous rise in most commodity prices. Past experience indicates that when the price level

begins to rise after a long period of declining commodity prices, wages which have been previously curtailed lag behind the rise in the price level.

That result has in the past imposed upon those who labor an unfair burden; has prevented their just and equitable share in the profits of industry and has limited the purchasing power of the overwhelming majority of our population.

I, therefore, ask you, who represent in all probability the majority of the employers of the Nation, to refrain from further reduction in the wages of your employees and I ask you also to increase your wage scales in conformity with and simultaneous with the rise of the level of commodity prices in so far as this lies within your power.

It is a simple fact that the average of the wage scale of the Nation has gone down during the past four years more rapidly than the cost of living. It is essential, as a matter of national justice, that the wage scale should be brought back to meet the cost of living and that this process should begin now and not later.

My second request has to do with bringing order out of chaos. During the past four years what previously had been considered to be an orderly industrial system has degenerated into one of the highest disorder. You and I acknowledge the

existence of unfair methods of competition, of cut-throat prices and of general chaos. You and I agree that this condition must be rectified and that order must be restored. The attainment of that objective depends upon your willingness to cooperate with one another to this end and also your willingness to cooperate with your Government.

In almost every industry an overwhelming majority of the units of the industry are wholly willing to work together to prevent overproduction, to prevent unfair wages, to eliminate improper working conditions. In the past success in attaining these objectives has been prevented by a small minority of units in many industries. I can assure you that you will have the cooperation of your Government in bringing these minorities to understand that their unfair practices are contrary to a sound public policy.

My third request is of a somewhat different nature though it has an important bearing on the other two. It is human nature to view a problem in terms of the particular existence and interest of the company or the business with which one is personally associated. It is, therefore, not unnatural that the various industries of the country should apply this same point of view to themselves. And yet I call your attention to what must be clear to all of us: That each

and all of you in your own units and your own industries are but an integral part of a great whole and that our national economy must be expressed in terms of the whole rather than in terms of the unit.

It is ultimately of little avail to any of you to be temporarily prosperous while others are permanently depressed. I ask that you translate your welfare into the welfare of the whole, that you view recovery in terms of the Nation rather than in terms of a particular industry, that you have the vision to lay aside special and selfish interests, to think of and act for a well rounded national recovery.

May I take this opportunity to express my special appreciation of the fine cooperation which I have had from your President, Mr. Harriman, and from his associates. He has felt free to call on me and I have felt free to call on him. In that spirit the Nation is working itself out of its troubles. In that spirit we shall succeed.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
GRADUATING CLASS, UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY

June 1, 1933

I am not going to talk to you of the many heroic examples that have been set by those who in past years have received their commissions on occasions such as this. I am not going to give you a lecture on the uniqueness of your position as the first line of the nation's defense against aggression. I am not going to dilate on the duties and responsibilities that fall upon you in war and in peace. These things you have learned from your own studies and from your instructors who have participated in them. You should, and I assume you do, know more about them than I can know and are fully appreciative of their importance and the grave consequences with which the manner of your performance of these duties is involved.

Knowledge of these things I must assume you have learned in the course of your term at the Academy. Otherwise you would not be here awaiting the diplomas which certify your fitness to be Naval officers of the United States.

You have an advantage over many other young men, not alone in having survived the tests requisite to your

receiving your diplomas, but especially in that you have learned discipline, responsibility, industry and loyalty -- the very elements upon which, in every walk of life, every worthwhile success is founded. Others on the threshold of active life must demonstrate their reliability; yours, because you have graduated from the United States Naval Academy, is taken for granted.

There are, however, other lessons which cannot be taught in the classrooms of the service colleges or of civilian colleges -- lessons which can come only through voluntary study and voluntary practice on your part after you have graduated. These are lessons that have to do with your relationship to your fellow man in your contacts with your associates in your chosen profession of government service or of private endeavor.

A columnist complained the other day that I had overestimated the importance of understanding of, and sympathy with, the point of view and the general well-being of what might be called the average citizen, and he intimated that a man could be highly successful in any profession without studying that point of view.

Nevertheless, when you make a close examination of any profession, you will find very few successful men, or for that matter women, who do not take into consideration the effect of their individual efforts on humanity as a whole.

Esprit de corps, pride of profession, is as delightful and imperative an element in the making of a good officer as it is in the making of a good professional or business man, but when it is carried to the point of assuming that only the holder of an Annapolis commission or diploma, or the possessor of a college degree, is a valid member of the aristocracy of life, it becomes a hindrance instead of a help to your service, to the government and to your fellow citizens.

So I ask you to avoid an exclusive relationship to your own clan -- to your clan of the Navy or to some other special government service or to the clan of your profession in civil life. Remember to cultivate the friendship of people, not alone in your own class or profession -- but the average run of folks -- the same folks you would have known and liked and affiliated with had you not been chosen to enter and to graduate from a highly specialized institution of higher education.

This I ask of you, not only for your own sakes, but for your country's sake. You who become today Officers of the United States Navy are not set apart as a clique with different interests and different ideas from those of the rest of the country. Those of you who are to enter civil life are, in the same way, in no sense a clique.

You have, and should rightly have, pride in graduation from our splendid, historical Naval Academy. You inherit the tradition of honor and of efficiency. You inherit as well the tradition of service to the people of the United States. You will, I am confident, think of those people not as an abstract, theoretical mass, but as one hundred and twenty millions of men and women and children in forty-eight States -- on seacoast, on plain and among the mountains; in city, in village and on farm; rich people, people of moderate means, poor people; people employed and people out of jobs. You represent them all. They have given you a glorious opportunity. Make good. Keep the faith. Good luck to you in the days to come!

JCF Dec 4, 1997.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORENEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CONFERENCE OF RELIEF ADMINISTRATORS
EXECUTIVE OFFICES OF THE WHITE HOUSE

June 14, 1933, 2.30 P.M.

(Mr. Hopkins: "Mr. President, these are the Administrators of Relief in the 48 States of the Union, Puerto Rico and Alaska, also the Governors of several States who have been good enough to come to our meetings. I shall appreciate it very much if you will say a word to us.")

THE PRESIDENT: This is a very large and happy family party. I think we are going to get on top of this problem very soon with your help.

As you probably know, I go back quite a long way in this relief work. It was three years ago, very nearly, when I was Governor of New York, that we passed a perfectly unheard of relief bill -- 25 million dollars for one year's expenditures -- and Harry Hopkins took charge of it. We did a great deal and I learned a lot about relief work from him in his work. That is the reason I brought him down here to Washington when we started this work.

All the time during the campaign I think both parties made it fairly clear, especially, I might add, the democratic party, that there was a certain principal involved and that holds just as good today as it did last year. It is this: That the first responsibility of taking care of people out of work who are lacking housing or clothing

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
QUINCY, MASSACHUSETTS (EN ROUTE TO MARION, MASSACHUSETTS)
June 17, 1933, 4 P.M.

Mr. Mayor, my friends of Quincy:

As some of you know, this is not my first visit to Quincy. In the old Navy days I used to come here to see American warships built and I hope in a few months we are going to start building some more American warships.

(Applause)

It is particularly appropriate, I think, that every President of the United States should come to Quincy, the birthplace of the two great Adams and a lot of other great Adams right down to the present day.

I might say I have another memory of Quincy because when I was a small boy I remember my old uncle was here as a student at the Academy. I remember in particular one Bunker Hill Day somewhere in the eighties there was a lot of commotion because some of the boys got hold of a cannon and got it up to the third floor and fired it out of the window. So you see that is another reason why it is appropriate that I should come back on the anniversary.

I am happy to be here and I am very happy also to have this memento of Quincy that will go on my table all the rest of my life and then descend to this youngster sitting beside me. I am also happy to have it because it represents a connecting link with the first railroad in the United States.

I am sorry it is such inclement weather. I want to thank you all for coming out in it. I wish I could shake you all by the hand.

Many thanks.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORENEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO
CAMPOBELLO ISLAND, NEW BRUNSWICK

June 29, 1933

I think that I can only address you as my old friends of Campobello -- old and new. I was figuring this morning on the passage of time and I remembered that I was brought here because I was teething forty-nine years ago. I have been coming for many months almost every year until about twelve years ago when there has been a gap.

It seems to me that memory is a very wonderful thing because this morning, when we came out of the fog at West Quoddy Head, the boys who were aboard said, "There is Land All (?) Head", and I started ahead full speed because I knew it was Lubec Narrows. That was one of the things I learned up here, one of the things I learned, for instance, from Ed Lank, one of the things I learned from John Calder, and old Captain Mitchell who, by the way, gave me a few minutes ago a very delightful photograph of my Father's first old boat away back in the early nineties. I am mighty glad to have it.

I was thinking also, as I came through the

Narrows and saw the line of fishing boats and the people on the wharves, both here at Welch Pool and also in Eastport, that this reception here is probably the finest example of friendship between nations -- permanent friendship between nations -- that we can possibly have. (Applause)

I was glad that I had with me the American Delegate to the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, Mr. Norman Davis, because he will go back to Geneva and will be able to tell them that he has seen with his own eyes what a border-line without fortifications means between two great nations. (Applause)

I am very happy to have had this very wonderful reception, all of this kindness from the Governor of the Province of New Brunswick and also from the Dominion Governor, and especially a very delightful telegram of welcome from the Governor General of Canada, the representative of His Majesty, the King. (Applause)

I have had a very wonderful couple of hours and I am going to have a very wonderful two days before I have to leave. (Applause)

I hope and am very confident that if peace continues in this world and that if the other nations of the

world follow the very good example of the United States and Canada, I will be able to come back here for a holiday during the next three years. (Applause - prolonged)

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
July 17, 1933, 9.30 P.M.

In speaking to you men of the Civilian Conservation Corps, I think of you as a visible token of encouragement to the whole country. You -- nearly three hundred thousand strong -- are evidence that the Nation is still strong enough and broad enough to look after its citizens. You are evidence that we are seeking to get away as fast as we possibly can, from the dole, from soup kitchens and from free lodging -- because the Government is paying you wages and maintaining you to do actual work -- work which is needed now and for the future and will bring a definite financial return to the people of the Nation. Through you, the Nation will graduate a fine group of strong young men, clean living, trained to self-discipline and above all, willing and proud to work for the joy of working.

Too much in recent years, large numbers of our population have thought of success as an opportunity to gain money with the least possible work. It is time for each and every one of us to cast away self-destroying, Nation-destroying efforts to get something for nothing and to appreciate that satisfying rewards and safe rewards come only through honest work. That must be the new spirit of the American future. You are the vanguard of that new spirit.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO
GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE AT SAN FRANCISCO

July 25, 1933

I send my greetings across many states to the Conference of Governors assembled tonight. I wish I could meet with you and renew old and pleasant associations, created during the four years during which I was one of you. I like to recall that I was a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference of Governors and that I attended all four meetings during my term of office as Governor of New York. I found then, and subsequent observation has confirmed my belief, that the Governors' Conference is a vital and necessary organization.

I take this occasion to assure you of my deep appreciation of the cooperative spirit which you have recently shown in your resolution addressed to me. We are all engaged in the business of lifting this country from economic chaos and I congratulate you on the efforts that you are making.

I feel that one of the great problems before us is to adjust the balance between mutual State and Federal undertakings to determine the joint responsibilities of many great tasks. I think we are making progress in this direction. There are many problems that extend beyond

the power of single states. I can use as illustrations two which happen to be in the foreground in Washington at this moment.

The problem of oil production, for example, must be viewed and measured from the standpoint of the national total of production and of consumption. But, in coming to grips with the problem of limitation, the states have a function to perform which is of great importance. I am happy that the oil producing states are cooperating with each other and with the Federal Government in this matter.

Another problem is a consideration of a wider and more effective use of the land over wide areas in such natural units as the Tennessee or the Arkansas or the Missouri on the upper Mississippi valleys. Here are problems where the individual state and regional groups of states and the Federal Government may well find possibilities of fruitful cooperation.

I extend to you a very personal note of greeting. I am more than pleased with the contacts which I have had with the governors of the forty-eight sovereign states since I have been President. I have maintained a constant and active interchange of ideas with many of you. We have communicated by mail and telephone and more particularly by personal conferences at the White House. I hope that these contacts will continue and increase in number and

importance. I hope, furthermore, that during the coming winter I may have the pleasure of meeting with you here in Washington once more and I take this occasion to extend to you a cordial invitation for such a meeting during the coming winter.

Let us look forward to this gathering in the hope that it will mark further solid accomplishments by all of us in the direction of national recovery. It is a major purpose of my Administration to strengthen the bonds between State and Federal executive authorities, to the great common ends to which we are all devoted.

My warm greetings to you all, old associates and new friends.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TEN MILE RIVER CAMP OF THE BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA
TEN MILE RIVER, NEW YORK

August 23, 1933, 12.45 P.M.

Fellow Members of the Boy Scouts of America:

I have not been here for two years and all sorts of things have happened up here in that time. Among other things I see that you have all joined the cavalry and you have also gone in for a navy on one of the lakes. I do not know what will happen next but I suppose that we will turn you all into farmers before we get through.

Every year that does go by here brings us a little bit closer to an ideal that a lot of us had in the Boy Scouts Foundation years ago when we wanted our own place in the sun and we wanted a big enough place to take care of the Boy Scouts of the City of New York and the neighboring territory for a couple of generations to come. Well, we got the place and now we are developing it. This is one of the finest monuments to scouting that there is anywhere in the country. When I think that at this particular moment on this particular day there are probably somewhere around 250,000 or 300,000 boy scouts out in camp in the United States, it makes me realize that it is a National movement, particularly when I think of the fact that we are nearly a million strong in the country. We have about 100,000 scout masters and scout leaders. All that means

that we are getting somewhere.

This Spring, because of my scout training, I took a leaf out of the notebook of scouting in order to take care of a lot of boys who are a bit older than you are. They were boys who had graduated from high school and some of them from college who had not been able to get work for a year or two or three years. So we started the CCC in this country, modelling it to a large extent after scouting and today there are 200,000 or 300,000 of these older boys in various parts of the country in these CCC camps. They are taking care of forests, preventing fires, stopping soil erosion and doing a thousand other tasks that the country needs. Of course, when you get a camp of 200 boys together, some of them naturally develop into leaders and I am told that the boys who have had scout training are coming forward more rapidly than any others and are becoming the leaders of a great many of those CCC camps. It is a pretty fine tribute to what scouting has done throughout the country.

We here are developing somewhat along the lines of conservation. Some day, before you boys pass on, this whole 10,000 acre tract is going to be a demonstration plot for the entire country as to what can be done on forestry, not only the planting of trees but also the care of trees. That is one of our objectives. We are not only learning ourselves, but, in learning, we are providing an object lesson for a lot of

other people.

I am glad too, to see that you have adopted the NRA insignia. We are going to enroll about 130 million people before we get through. (Applause) When you come right down to it, the NRA is based on the same fundamentals that scouting is based on, in other words, trying to do something for the other fellow and not trying to do somebody. (Laughter) It is based on cooperation -- you know what that means. It is based on the spirit of service and it is going to work just like scouting is working.

I am very grateful for these tokens that have been given to me by the different councils. I am going to take them back home and place them alongside some other tokens I got here two years ago on my last trip.

I wish that I could take a couple of weeks off and stay with you. There are lots of things that you could teach me. But I suppose that I will have to be getting along on my way and all I can tell you is that I am mighty glad to have been here and to have seen you all today.

I wish I could see all the boys that are up here at all of these camps. To those who are not here I hope you will give my very warm regards and tell them that I hope to come back again next year.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORENEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK (VASSAR COLLEGE)
August 26, 1933

(The President had a prepared speech which he did not follow.)

Dr. MacCracken, my old friends and all my neighbors of old Dutchess:

I am glad that Dr. MacCracken referred to introducing Dutchess County to the United States.

I think it is a very fine idea, but as a matter of fact one of the things way back in the old days, when I ran at another time on the National ticket in 1920 and began to know the United States, one of the amazing things to me was that there was hardly a State West of Ohio, clear on out to the Pacific, where I did not meet somebody in the crowd, or at the luncheon or at the banquet, that did not come up to me and say, "my family came from Dutchess County in the old days."

Dutchess County has spread all over the United States, and the influence of the fine old stock that we have raised here is being felt in our American citizenship in every part of the country.

I want to go back for a minute to the old days

before I got to know the United States. It is, I think, just twenty-three years ago that I chanced to be in Poughkeepsie on a Saturday morning in August -- a very hot Saturday morning.

In front of the court house I ran across a group of friends of mine. As I remember they were Judge Morschauer, George Spratt, John Mack and Judge Arnold. I had only intended to stay in town for a few minutes to do some errands, but they kidnapped me -- one of the first cases of deliberate kidnapping on record -- and took me out to the Policemen's picnic in Fairview.

On that joyous occasion of clams and sauerkraut and real beer -- on that great occasion I made my first speech, and I have been apologizing for it ever since.

And also on that same occasion I started to make the acquaintance of that part of Dutchess County that lies outside of the town of Hyde Park.

And I continued to make that acquaintance all through the campaign that time, because in August I hadn't the foggiest idea that I was going to run for the State Senate, and it was only because another band of kidnappers kidnapped me that I got into public life at all.

For I had to talk, and was given the opportunity of making the acquaintance of a county.

And today, as I drive along a beautiful concrete highway, or one of the new county roads, I see in my mind's eye that same road as it existed in the Autumn of 1910 as I proceeded over it at the dangerous pace of about twenty-two miles an hour in Mr. Hawkey's old red Maxwell, without any front windshield, without any top -- an old Maxwell that when we met a horse or a team -- and that was about every half mile or so -- we had to stop; not only stop, but stop the engine.

All through all those succeeding years the friendships that we began at that time have deepened, and, as you know, in spite of the absences in Washington and in Albany, I come back to the county on every possible occasion with a true feeling that it is home and that I am once more among my neighbors.

I get the local papers down in Washington, and judging by them I can say that during these recent months I have taken deep satisfaction in the fine spirit of understanding with which the people of my home county have gone along with the great national effort to set our national house in order.

In former days in this State and other places we have seen something of the same performance in the fields of local government.

Here and there, in spots that are altogether too rare, there is a town or a city or a county or even a State that has through its own interest -- the interest of its own citizenship -- become conscious of the fact that under the old order the social or the economic or the political life of the community was drifting down hill through lack of action or because of adhering to old rules that have been promulgated to fit conditions of a by-gone age.

In such individual cases aroused citizens have chosen new servants or have changed the form of conducting their local affairs to the advantage of the community without destroying the principles of self-government that are inherent in our American civilization.

You and I know that history in this State and elsewhere gives us many local examples of that, and in a sense this arousing of people's interest is what has occurred throughout the country in this year 1933 and has made itself felt in the national capital.

I think it is the first time in our history that the nation as a whole, regardless of party, has approved drastic changes in the methods and forms of the functions of government without destroying the basic principles.

Perhaps I can best illustrate the change that I am talking about by putting it this way -- that we have been extending to our national life the old principle of the local community, the principle that no individual, man, woman or child, has a right to do things that hurt their neighbors.

And this being neighbors' day, I think we can properly emphasize that word.

Many centuries ago, as you know, it was the principle of the old English common law -- nearly 1,000 years ago, and its development has been constant and consistent -- to be fair to one's neighbors and not do things that hurt them.

In the old days, when there were only agricultural communities, it was unfair, for example, to our neighbors to allow our cattle to roam on our neighbors' land. We were told we had to fence our cattle in.

And then when we got into great cities it became

unfair to maintain, let us say, a pigsty on Main and Market Streets.

As this principle was extended, it became unfair to our neighbors if we -- any individual or association of individuals -- sought to make unfair profits from monopolies in things that everybody had to use, such as gas and electric lights and railroad tickets and freight rates and things of that kind.

Still later on it became uniformly accepted throughout the country, almost, that it was not fair to our neighbors to let anybody hire their children when they were little bits of things, when they ought to be at school, and especially that it was unfair to hire them at pitiful wages and with long hours of work.

Many years ago we went even further in saying that the government -- State government or national government -- would have the right to impose increasing taxes on increasing profits because of a simple principle that very large profits were, of course, made at the expense of neighbors and, therefore, should at least to some extent be used through taxes for the benefit of the neighbors.

Now the extension of the idea of not hurting our

neighbors is recognized today as no infringement on the guarantee of personal liberty -- personal liberty to the individual.

For example, it is no more a restriction to tell a man that he must pay adequate wages than it is to tell that man that he must not hire child labor, or that he must not maintain a nuisance against his neighbors.

I think it is within this understanding of the deeper purposes of things today that the National Recovery Act we have heard so much about is proceeding and that that act is being accepted by the people of the country with the understanding of what it is all about.

Of course, it is true that your government in Washington hopes that the building up of wages that are too low, that are starvation wages, and shortening of hours of work, hours that are too long, in every part of the Union, will result in a greater distribution of income and wages and thereby increase the number of people in this country that can be employed.

It is true that we in Washington are seeking definitely to increase the purchasing power of the average American citizen and, therefore, of the nation as a whole.

It is also true, I think, that we are definitely succeeding in this purpose and that the downhill drift of America has definitely turned and become the upward surge of America.

Now, my friends, that is dollars and cents, but it is also true that the people, through government, are extending as a permanent part of American life -- and not just for one year or two years -- they are extending their insistence that individuals and associations of individuals shall cease doing many things that have been hurting their neighbors in bygone days.

We are engaged today, as you know -- not just the government in Washington, but groups of citizens everywhere -- in reviewing all kinds of human relationships, and in these reviews we are asking an old question in a new form.

We are saying, "Is this practice, is this custom, something which is being done at the expense of the many?"

And the many are the neighbors. In a national sense the many, the neighbors, are the people of the United States as a whole.

Nationally, we ^{must} think of them as a whole and not just by sections or by States.

We cannot give special consideration to the people of the North if, in so doing, it will not result in good to the people of the South or the West.

We cannot give special privileges to those who farm one particular crop if the giving makes things more difficult for those who farm some other crop.

We cannot single out one industry at the expense of others.

The national government must, of course, think in national terms, but your responsibility, your interest in national government ought not to stop there. The greater part of government, as it affects your daily lives and mine, is your local government.

The opportunity in this field of local government for improvement, for a betterment that will be felt in your lives, is just as great as it is in Washington.

When I was Governor of the State for four years I used to do a good deal of talking about local government, and just as long as I live, whether I am in Washington or Dutchess County, I am afraid I cannot get over the habit.

I used to tell people that we have in this State more than 13,000 local units of government. You were all interested but I did not notice that you did anything about it.

I used to tell when I was Governor about the fact that there were over 950 highway departments in the State of New York. You were interested but I did not notice that you did much about it.

I talked to you about the six or eight different layers of government that you lived under, Federal, State, county and town, electric light district, sewer district and fire department district, etc. -- even sidewalk district and I don't know how many other kinds of districts -- and you were paying taxes in all of them. You know that and so do I.

But we haven't done much yet along that line. We haven't done much to reorganize in our local government -- what you and I know to be an outworn system built up in the days of the oxcart and unchanged in the days of the automobile.

Some day -- because I have always been an optimist, I believe it will occur during our lifetime -- some day the people of the State of New York and the county of Dutchess will do something about it.

But I tell you that nothing will be done about it unless you make your representatives -- your representatives on town boards and county boards and the State

Legislature -- do something about it. And if they won't do it, substitute other representatives for them.

When I say that, I am not talking Democratic politics, I am talking straight Dutchess County Americanism.

May I add that both of the old parties in the county and in the State have been very largely to blame for not giving you people any action. I think you can make them take action -- both parties.

That all ties in with the old theme of good neighbors. If we have in our government things that do not work out well for the neighbors, things that redound to the credit of just a few people who run the government and redound to the harm of the voters who do not run the government except by going to the polls on election day, the only improvement that we can make must be an improvement that can help the neighbors. It all ties in together, and I believe that the people of this country have been taking more interest in the problems of their own government, because it is theirs, than ever before in history.

More men and more women are taking an individual,

a personal, interest in all the problems -- the social relations and economic and political problems -- than ever before in the history of the nation, and I hope that that interest will be extended to the problems of the local government as well.

It seems to me very fitting that I should emphasize to you, my neighbors, neighbors of my own home county, this thought that what is good for my neighbors is good for me, too.

It is very delightful to be able to establish the Summer White House in one's own home, without having to go to a strange house.

It is very delightful to have that home within easy striking distance of Washington. It is very delightful to be able to come there any time that the administration and the Congress allow me to, and find my mother holding the fort.

It is not only very delightful and a great relaxation to come to a party like this, but it does, frankly, help to restore one's sense of perspective. And when people get near-sighted by being too close to the government job day in and day out, their efficiency and value as public servants begin to falter.

Just before I came in here the President of the Dutchess County Society gave me a very beautiful NRA emblem to put into my coat.

The only difficulty about my wearing it is that it is not quite honest because the good people that work for me in the White House, whom you are all entertaining so magnificently in Poughkeepsie, at the headquarters in the Courier Building -- I am afraid that I cannot allow them to work by any NRA code.

Our day is just as long -- our working day is just as long as it has to be. Sometimes it starts pretty early in the morning and very often it goes right straight through until the small hours of the next morning. That is one exception to the NRA that I have to approve.

Outside of that there is a unity in this country which I have not seen and you have not seen since April, 1917, by which the American people are getting together behind the spirit of the NRA and deciding in every community, in every State, that they are going to live by these principles, and that through its operation and through the operation of other great agencies of the government which we have started, we are going to bring this country back to better times.

So, my friends, with my family I am grateful to have this opportunity of seeing you -- all my neighbors. Bless you all.

JCF Dec 4, 1933

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Before the 1933 Mobilization
for Human Needs Conference
September 8, 1933

Mr. Secretary of State, and you who are the leaders in this cause for the alleviation of human needs:

I have been somewhat occupied during the past 48 hours with human needs in other parts of the world, outside of our own country -- occupied in the hope that the United States would not have to act outside of their own quarters, in the hope that another Republic will be able to solve its own difficulties just as we are seeking to solve our difficulties. And, so, I have no set speech to deliver to you today.

I want to talk to you very simply and very briefly in regard to what might be called the "Whole of the Picture". You are not the whole of the picture and neither am I, but the Nation is. Our task, I think, is to complete the whole of the picture and not leave any unfinished portion thereof.

As you know, the many Governments in the United States, the Federal Government, the 48 state governments, and the tens of thousands of local governments are doing their best to meet what has been in many ways one of the most serious crises in history. On the whole, they have done well. The Federal Government cannot, by any means,

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
HYDE PARK METHODIST CHURCH, HYDE PARK, NEW YORK
September 29, 1933, 8.15 P.M.

(Song, "Onward, Christian Soldiers".
Rev. James read the invocation.
Hymn by choir.
Rev. Hyman A. Tallman, of the Reform
Church of Hyde Park, read the 15th
Chapter of St. Paul.
Dr. J. Louis Hartside, Superintendent
of the District, led in Prayer.
Songs, etc.
Dr. Thorne introduced The President.)

My friends:

It is true that I am here tonight as your
friend and neighbor, but I have never thought of my-
self as a preacher. (Laughter) Perhaps the real
cause of my presence is that once upon a time I was
designated as the Official Historian of the Town of
Hyde Park and, as such, know probably almost as much
about the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church
as the congregation itself does.

A few years ago I had the privilege of work-
ing with your Pastor in compiling the records of this
Church and of the other Churches in our Township. That
kind of a compilation was made necessary for the one
good and sufficient reason that in the old days, when

our Churches were founded, the only statistics relating to births and marriages and deaths were to be found in the registers of the several Churches. Unfortunately, of course, although our own Township dates back for nearly two hundred and fifty years, the religious life of this particular community did not begin in an organized way until after the Revolution. Before that time there wasn't any Hyde Park. There was a district of the County of Dutchess that was known as the Krum Elbow Precinct and across Krum Elbow Creek there was a country place that belonged to Dr. John Barr (?) that was known as Hyde Park. But this community, until after the Revolution, went by various names, among others as Dokenwall's (?) Landing and Stoutensburgh's Store, and various other appellations. In the pre-Revolutionary days, as far as the record shows, there was no religious life in this community, although it had been settled far back in the year 1698; that is to say, there was no religious life except for an occasional wandering Quaker preacher who came hither from Millbrook or Pine Plains and held a meeting perhaps once every three months or so over on what you and I know today as Quaker Lane. It was not until --

I will have to check on the date some time -- until 1789 that the people in this community who belonged to various Churches got together and decided that they ought to have a Meeting House and thus in 1789 there was organized the Stoutensburgh Religious Society, an association of men and women who wanted a place to worship in and, as a result, there was put up the first Church and what afterwards became Hyde Park Building. I suppose it was a very tiny structure because it seated only forty-eight persons, but the interesting thing about that Church in 1789 was that in the meeting of the people who organized it, they passed a resolution and the resolution said that the house -- the Church -- shall be open to every good and well recommended preacher and every Christian society. In other words, it was a Church for all of the divisions of the Protestant faith. There were not many Baptists here in those days, they tell us, but there were Methodists, there were Dutch Reform followers, there were Presbyterians and Protestant Episcopalians and, for a number of years, in fact for a whole generation, this community worshipped in this house of the Religious Society.

A generation later, in 1811, the Protestant

Episcopal Church was organized and then there came the Methodist Episcopal Church for which, as I remember the date, the first meeting was held in 1832. As a result of that first meeting Mr. Albertson, for whom Albertson Street has taken its name -- it was somewhat before I was born (laughter) -- gave the lot of land on which the first church building was erected in 1833. But even then they did not have the funds or the congregation was insufficient to have one preacher, as they called them in those days, and so they got what was, what we call today a lay leader, whose name was Slack, Alonzo S. Slack, and, before he became a Pastor he came to the original Church and conducted services every other Sunday.

A little later on, when he had become a member of the Ministry, Mr. Slack came here as the first Pastor of the Church and he, as you and I know, has been succeeded by a long line of noble and unselfish men down to the present day.

My own association with this Church goes back to a very, very early period, in the early eighties.

I remember one day, on my way home, I passed a little house that was occupied by that splendid old

couple, Mr. and Mrs. John Clay, and Mrs. John Clay invited me in to give me a piece of gingerbread, and that was when I discovered that there was another Church in the Village besides my own. So Mrs. Clay was responsible for my first association with Methodism, and it was done with a piece of gingerbread.

Through all these years I have seen this Church grow -- grow in health and strength because, after all, back there in the eighties it was not nearly as important a factor in the life of the community as it is today.

I like to think also of the advent of other Churches in this Village from time to time, the Dutch Reform Church growing out of that original old Religious Society that was organized in 1789, this Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Baptist Church, and the Catholic Church, and I like to go back to the origins of religion in this community. Religion in those days, a hundred and fifty years ago, was a community affair, and I am inclined to think that during the intervening time religion has ceased to be, to a large extent, a community affair. When I was a boy, let us be quite frank, there was not the same association, the same teamwork, the same

cooperation between Churches in this community or of any other community that you and I find today. It is not only the spirit of the times, but it seems to me that it is fundamentally a matter of common sense that in our religious worship we should work together instead of flying off on different tangents and different angles, pulling apart instead of pulling as a unified whole. During these latter years there has been a splendid change for the better in this regard. We find today the Ministers of the different Churches sitting amicably side by side on the same platform. More than that, we find them coming together from time to time to try to help to solve the community problems together.

Religion has had pretty hard sledding in many parts of the country. It has been an uphill fight, but I am inclined to think that it has been a winning fight and that things are getting better along with the rest of the American civilization. How much better, from the point of view of economics, is the religion of today as to what it was in the old struggling days or what it is today in many parts of our country? Down where I go, in the State of Georgia, in that little community, the salary

of the Pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Warm Springs during the boom days of the recent boom period was the munificent sum of four hundred dollars a year. In these last few years it was cut to three hundred dollars a year on the condition that that amount was raised. Now, that is not easy going for religion.

It seems to me that we who have been perhaps blessed a good deal more than many other parts of the country should convert those blessings that we have had into a very practical -- a very decent -- expression through the Churches to which we belong.

Last Spring, when I went to Washington, there were, of course, many people who came forward with the thought, verbally expressed, that the Government should take over all the troubles of the country, that we could, well, as we used to say in the old days, "Let George do it", and I began to think sometimes that my first name was George. (Laughter) After all, that is not exactly the American way of doing things. Some countries in the world may find it more convenient to put all their burdens on one person, but we don't. So I took the position then, and I think the country has understood the reasons

for it, that the Government of the Nation has a responsibility, yes, but a responsibility which should be exercised only if the smaller units of our country have done everything that they possibly can and that has proved insufficient. Therefore, when we come down, for example, to the question of relief, we ask the question, before extending Federal assistance to States or to communities, have the people in this community done their share? Mind you, there are many ways in which a community can do its share. They can do it through their taxing powers. They can do it through their constituted authorities, the officials of the village or township. But also, they can do and do an enormous amount of work for the relief of suffering humanity through their churches. So the first question we ask, quite frankly, in every case, is whether the community has done its share through its officials and its churches, and then we ask the next question, provided that was not enough and there is still unrelieved suffering. We ask whether the State has done its share as well, and if the answer is in the affirmative and there is still help needed, why then it becomes the duty of the Federal Government to see that nobody starves. That has been the

principle which we are trying to extend to all the work of our Government to see to it that every man and woman and, I might add, child has done their share towards the common good.

The Churches are doing their share and the men and women and children who make up the congregations of the Churches have shown a splendid period in these days. It is an interesting fact that although the national income from 1929 down to the Summer of this year fell off by a very large percentage, nevertheless the receipts of the Churches of the American communities fell off by a much smaller percentage. In other words, we have faith in our Churches and our Churches have faith in us.

I am very happy to take part in the one hundredth anniversary of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Hyde Park. I, with you, am proud not only of its history but of the splendid work that it has done in this community during the full century. I am happy in the thought that during the one hundred years that lie ahead of us, it is going to continue to do splendid work for the community, and that it is going to do that hand in hand with the other Churches of the community. That is the kind of American

spirit that is going to bring us over the top.

In closing, may I say one word: In the task which we all face, you face just as much as I do the problems of so-called economics, the problems that are called monetary problems, the problems of unemployment, the problems of industry and of agriculture. We shall not succeed in solving those problems unless the people of this country hold the spiritual values of the country just as high as they do the economic values of the country. I am very sure that the spirit in which we are approaching those difficult tasks and the splendid co-operation which has been shown, is going to be exemplified in the lives of the people calling themselves Christians who believe in God and uphold the works of the Church. (Prolonged applause)

(The Congregation sang "My Country 'Tis of Thee".)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION
CHICAGO STADIUM, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

October 2, 1933, 12.00 Noon

(The following speech of the President includes interpolations and revisions, the former indicated by underlining and omissions being indicated by parenthesis.)

Commander Johnson, Fellow Members of the American Legion:

I think I have been in this Hall before (applause) and I can
almost hear that fine old friend of ours, Senator Walsh, saying
"Has the gentleman arrived?" (Applause) Well, I will tell you
that the gentleman arrived.

I am glad to come here again and (I am glad to come here as
your guest and) I am glad to have the right to come here as your
comrade. I have come because I have faith in the American Legion
and in all (other) veterans in all our wars. And, incidentally,
the right which I have to come here works both ways because just
as long as I am in the White House you have the right to come and
see me there. (Applause)

You know my relationship with you is not a matter of the past
six months; it dates back to the war days, it dates back to the time
when I participated with you, not only in this country but also
on the North Sea, and in the Channel, and on the actual fighting
front in France.

I want to talk with you very simply about the problems of
government, the difficulties that you and I as Americans have faced

and solved and the difficulties which we still face and are going to solve. I recognize and appreciate, and the Nation recognizes and appreciates, the patience, the loyalty, the willingness to make sacrifices, shown by the overwhelming majority of the veterans of our Country during the trying period from which we are beginning successfully to emerge.

I want to talk to you about national unity. Let us look at it as a living thing -- not a mere theory resting in books, or otherwise apart from everyday business of men and women. It means that we all live under a common government, that we trade with each other, pay common taxes, many of them too high. (Applause) It means that we give to and receive from a common protective government of which we are part. So to recognize national unity, to hold it above all else, seeing that upon it depends our common welfare, is just another way to say that we have patriotism.

You and I who served in the World War know that we represented a united nation in a time of danger to world civilization. But you and I know also that national unity is as essential in time of peace as in time of war. If this Country is worth living in, if this Flag of ours is worth living under, if our social order means anything to us, then this Country of ours is worth defending every day and every year of the life of every individual one of us. It is because I am unwilling to live myself, or to have my children or grandchildren live, under an

alien flag or an alien form of government, that I believe in the fundamental obligation of citizenship, men and women, to don the uniform of our Country, to carry arms and work in its defense when our Country and the things it stands for are attacked. (Applause)

But there are two enemies of national unity, sectionalism and class, and if the spirit of sectionalism or the spirit of class is allowed to grow strong, or to prevail, that would mean the end of national unity and the end of patriotism.

Some people who visit us from other lands across the seas still find it difficult to credit the fact that a Nation sprung from many sources, a Nation one hundred and thirty million strong, a Nation stretching three thousand miles from east to west, is, in all the great essentials of its civilization, a homogeneous whole; for not only do we speak one language, not only are the customs and habits of our people essentially similar in every part of the (Continent) Country, but we have given repeated proof on many occasions, and especially in these recent years, that we are willing to forego sectional advantage where such advantage can be obtained only by one part of the Country at the expense of the Country as a whole.

The other enemy of national unity is class distinction, and you and I are well aware of the simple fact that as every day passes, the people of (this Country) the United States

are less and less willing to tolerate benefits for any one group of citizens that have to be paid for by others. (Applause)

You men of the Legion have been willing to fight for the benefits of American life. You have been willing to live for American unity. You have understood that this is the very foundation of the Americanism for which you stand, in which you believe, and to which you and I swore allegiance when we became American Legionnaires. (Applause)

But my friends, for several years past the benefits of American life were threatened. The crisis came in the Spring of this year. It was necessary to meet that crisis. Again it was necessary for all of us to go back to fundamentals. Millions of people were out of work, the banks were closed, the credit of the Government itself was threatened. The car was stalled. Obviously, the first objective was to get the engine running again. (Applause) It is true that we succeeded in reopening the great majority of the banks, and we are going to open a lot more of them, but this would have been impossible if at the same time we had not been able to restore the credit of the Government.

In speaking of national credit we are again dealing with a real thing, not a mere theory in books. There is such a thing as national credit. It depends on national unity. Without it the government cannot get money to carry on the great work of rehabilitation. You and I depend upon it, and in the

right sense your welfare and mine rests upon it.

That is not just an academic proposition. Industry cannot be restored, people cannot be put back to work, banks cannot be kept open, human suffering cannot be cared for, if the Government itself is bankrupt. We realize now that the great human values, not for you alone but for all American citizens, rest upon the unimpaired credit of the United States. (Applause)

It was because of that that we undertook to take the National Treasury out of the red and put it in the black -- and we have done it. (Applause) And in the doing of it we laid down two principles which directly affected benefits to veterans -- benefits to you, benefits to veterans of other wars.

The first principle, following inevitably from the obligation of citizens to bear arms, is that the Government has a responsibility for and towards those who suffered injury or contracted disease while serving in its defense. (Applause)

The second principle is that no person, because he wore a uniform must thereafter be placed in a special class of beneficiaries over and above all other citizens. (Applause) The fact of wearing a uniform does not mean that he can demand and receive from his Government a benefit which no other citizen receives. (Applause) It does not mean that because a person served in the defense of his Country, performed a basic

obligation of citizenship, he should receive a pension from his Government because of a disability incurred after his service had terminated, and not connected with that service. (Applause)

It does mean, however, that those who were injured in and as a result of their service, are entitled to receive adequate and generous compensation for their disabilities. (Applause) It does mean that generous care shall be extended to the dependents of those who died in or as a result of service to their country. (Applause)

To carry out these principles, the people of this Country can and will pay in taxes the sums which it is necessary to raise. To carry out these principles will not bankrupt your Government nor throw its bookkeeping into the red. (Applause)

Every person who has made honest study knows that mistakes, many of them, have been made during the course of the past fifteen years. I personally know that mistakes in individual cases and inequalities affecting various groups have occurred in the past six months. And I say to you right here (applause) that at the same time there stands out the fact which you know -- that many of these mistakes have been rectified and that we have the definite purpose of doing justice not only to the mass, but, insofar as possible, to every individual as well. (Applause) Furthermore, it is my hope that insofar as justice concerns those whose disabilities are, as a matter of fact, of war origin,

the Government will be able to extend even more generous care than is now provided under existing regulations. It is to these men that our obligation (exists) lies. (Prolonged applause)

To these two broad principles the time has come, I believe, for us to add a third. There are many veterans of our wars to whom disability and sickness unconnected with war service has come. To them the Federal Government owes the application of the same broad rule or principle which it has laid down for the relief of other cases of involuntary want or destitution.

(Applause)

In other words, if the individual affected can afford to pay for his own treatment he cannot call on any form of government aid. (Applause) But if he has not got the wherewithal to take care of himself, it is first of all the duty of the community in which he lives to take care of him and next it is the duty of his State in which he lives. Only if under these circumstances his own community and his own State are unable, after reasonable effort, to care for him, then, and then only, should the Federal Government offer him hospitalization and care, and the Federal Government stands ready to do that.

(Prolonged applause)

My, you are a young-looking bunch. But the young men of this country, the young people of today who, in the event of war, would bear the first brunt of national defense, think of us of the American Legion as middle-aged people. (Laughter)

You and I, I have a sneaking suspicion that you and I are not yet ready to admit that we have "one foot in the grave." (Laughter) We think of ourselves, and with some justification perhaps, as people who have had some experience, of some maturity of judgment, of a position in the community that carries with it a certain amount of responsibility. We believe we have a certain amount of influence as individuals and we believe that as an organization the American Legion has enormous power for the good of the Country for many years to come. (Applause) It is not enough that you have helped to write the history of the United States and of the world. It is a fact that much of the future history of (America) our beloved Country will be a history which you will help to make in the years to come. Your future interests are inseparable from those of other citizens, and, granting that your interest in the disabled and dependent comrades is first upon your program, I ask in addition your cooperation in the great program of national rehabilitation in which you and I are equally engaged. (Applause)

The charter of the Legion keeps it out of partisan politics. The strength and the very existence of the Legion depend on the maintenance of that principle. You are not here as Republicans or Democrats. You are here, as you should be, as Americans to work with your Government for the good of the average citizen. (Prolonged applause) I am grateful to the Legion for the splendid stand it has taken -- I am grateful for the "Battle

Order" it has issued. (Applause)

The realization of our national program, my friends, cannot be attained in six months. Reemployment has proceeded only a part of the way. From week to week there will be ups and downs, but the net result is a consistent gain. (Applause) The freezing of credits has been stopped and the ice is definitely melting, it has not all melted yet. Farm income has been increased; but not enough, it must be increased further. Industry has picked up, but an increased purchasing power must stimulate it further and is going to. (Applause)

Your task and mine are similar. Each one of us must play an individual part in our own field in dealing with these many problems, and to help make our neighbors play their part, but at the same time we must realize that the individual part belongs to a closely related whole -- the national unity of purpose and of action.

Comrades of the Legion, I ask your further and even greater efforts in your program of national recovery. You who wore the uniform, you who served, you who took the oath of allegiance to the American Legion, you who support the ideals of American citizenship, you I have called to the Colors again. As your Commander-in-Chief and your comrade, I am confident that you will respond. (Prolonged applause).

INFORMAL EXTEMPORENEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
CHICAGO CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXPOSITION
October 2nd, 1933, 2 P.M.

(At the conclusion of the Luncheon given in the President's honor in the Administration Building, General Dawes said: "It was the President's express desire that there be no speech. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from telling him of the honor he has paid us in visiting our Grounds on this short visit to Chicago. It will be noted throughout the entire country and it greatly encourages us in the effort we are making in this Exposition to express the spirit of progress of the American people."

General Dawes then presented the President with a medal commemorating the Century of Progress as a souvenir.)

In spite of what Mr. Dawes has said about speech-making, while I am not going to make any speeches, I want to thank the Century of Progress for presenting this delightful medal.

I go back quite far in the history of the Century of Progress Exposition because I happened to come back in a steamer in May, 1931, with General Dawes who was on his way back from the Court of St. James with the job of raising six million dollars in the course of one week. I told him that he could not do it. (Laughter) Well, he did.

At the time of which I have been talking -- he

says I said it and I say he said it -- this was in May, 1931 -- at any rate, one of us said that it was entirely probable that the opening of the Century of Progress in the Spring of 1933 would synchronize with the beginning of the restoration of prosperity in the United States. (Applause) Well, it did, and I am very confident that the soil prepared here this year and the splendid success it has met, has been a real contribution to the restoration of prosperity in every part of the country. It has given us a symbol to go by.

I wish very much that I had the time and capacity to stay here for several days and really see the Century of Progress myself. It is a great disappointment to me that I cannot see the exhibits and the buildings and especially that I cannot be here at night and see them all illuminated. However, it is one of those things that usually turn up -- Cuba is not feeling quite so well this morning -- and I have to leave in the course of an hour or so.

It has been a great pleasure to be here. I congratulate you all on the splendid success of the Century of Progress and I wish there were an opportunity for everyone in the United States to have a chance to see it.

(Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORENEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ELKHART, INDIANA, EN ROUTE CHICAGO TO NEW YORK
October 2, 1933, 7.15 P.M.

I was sorry not to see you this morning, but I have to be quite frank and tell you that I was still sleeping.

We had a very wonderful day in Chicago, a great meeting of the American Legion, and afterwards I was glad to have a chance to see the Century of Progress Exposition. I wish that everybody in this country could have a chance to see that Fair and to realize what we have accomplished in the United States since the early days in 1893. When I was a very small boy, about ten or eleven years old, I was taken out to the Worlds Fair.

I was glad to come back and compare this Fair with what happened forty years ago.

I am glad to have this chance to get around the country a little bit for, as you know, my job keeps me pretty well tied to my desk in Washington. (Laughter, applause)

I believe that the people of this country, regardless of party, are behind what the Government is

trying to do. (Applause) I believe also that while it is going to take a good while longer to reach the goal that we have set for ourselves, nevertheless we are getting somewhere every day. (Applause)

Thanks for coming down. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CONFERENCE DINNER
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES
GRAND BALLROOM, WALDORF ASTORIA HOTEL
October 4, 1933

Cardinal Hayes, Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen:

Coming down through the crowd this evening, my old friend, Monsignor Keegan, paid me the nicest compliment I have had since the fourth of March because he said, "Remember, way back before the fourth of March, when you said you would come to this dinner in October? And now you have come."

In the midst of problems of material things -- in the machine age of invention and of finance, and of international suspicion and renewed armaments -- I think that every one of us must gain satisfaction and a strength in the knowledge that social justice is becoming an ever-growing factor and influence in almost every part of the world today. With every passing year I become more confident that humanity is moving forward to the practical application of the teachings of Christianity as they affect the individual lives of men and women everywhere.

I think it is fitting that this annual National Conference of Catholic Charities should celebrate also, at the same time, the centennial of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. I like to remember the day a hundred years ago, the taunt of atheists, the taunt of (and) the enemies of the Christian religion in the Paris of 1833, when they demanded of the churches, "Show us your works." Yes, I like to remember it because of the

acceptance of that challenge and the decision to show that Christianity was not dead, and that the deeds of Christians were in accordance with their faith. This one Society, this past year, in their task of visitation and relief of the poor in their own homes and in hospitals and institutions, aided more than one hundred and fifty thousand families within the borders of our country; and, with other great organizations of men and women connected with all the churches in all the land, it is working with similar unselfishness for the alleviation of human suffering and the righting of human wrong. When I think of this I am confirmed in my deep belief that God is marching on.

Monsignor Keegan has mentioned the fact that seven months ago this very day, standing at the portals of the Capitol at Washington, about to assume the responsibilities of the Presidency, I told the people of America that we were going to face facts, no matter how hard and how difficult those facts might be, and that it was my firm belief that the only thing we had to fear was fear itself.

I believed then -- and I know now -- that our people would support definite action that sought the goal of giving every man his due. Leadership, I have tried to give, but the great and the outstanding fact, my friends, has been the response -- the wholehearted response -- of America. As we have recaptured and rekindled our pioneering spirit. We have insisted that it shall always be a spirit of justice, a spirit

of teamwork, a spirit of sacrifice, and, above all, a spirit of neighborliness.

We have sought to adjust the processes of industrial and agricultural life, and in so doing we have sought to view the picture as a whole. Revival of industry, redemption of agriculture, reconstruction of banking, development of public works, the lifting of crushing debt -- all these in every part of the Nation call for a willingness to sacrifice individual gains, to work together for the public welfare and for the success of a broad national program of recovery. We have to have courage and discipline and vision to blaze the new trails in life; but underlying all our efforts is the conviction that men cannot live unto themselves alone. A democracy, the right kind of a democracy, is bound together by the ties of neighborliness.

That tie, my friends, has been the guiding spirit of your work for the sick, your work for the children in need, and for the aged and friendless. And you who have participated in the actual day-to-day work of practical and useful charity understand well that no program of recovery can suddenly restore all our people to self-support. This is the time when you and I know that though we have proceeded a portion of the way, the longer, harder part still lies ahead; to redouble our efforts to care for those who must still depend upon relief, to prevent the disintegration of home life, and to stand by the victims of the depression until it is definitely past.

The Federal Government has inaugurated new measures of relief on a vast scale, but the Federal Government cannot, and does not intend to, take over the whole job. Many times we have insisted that every community and every state must first do their share.

Out of this picture we are developing a new science of social treatment and rehabilitation -- working it out through an unselfish partnership, a partnership between great church and private social service agencies with the agencies of Government itself. From the point of view of fixing responsibilities, the prevention of overlapping, the prevention of waste, and the co-ordination of effort, we are, all of us, making enormous strides with every passing day. But back of that cooperative leadership that is showing itself so splendidly in every part of the country, there are two other vital reasons for the maintenance of the efforts of the churches in every part of the land. (and other non-Governmental groups).

The first of these is that much as you and I strive for the broad principles of social justice, the actual application of these principles is of necessity an individual thing, - a thing that touches individual lives and individual families. No governmental organization in all history has been able to keep the human touch to the same extent as church effort and private effort. Government can do a great many things better than private associations or citizens, but in the last analysis success of this kind of work in which you are engaged (in personal matters) depends

on the personal contact between neighbor and neighbor.

I think that the other reason lies in the fact that the people of the United States still recognize, and, I believe, recognize with a firmer faith than ever before, that spiritual values count in the long run more than material values. Those people in other lands, and I say this advisedly, those in other lands who have sought by edict or by law to eliminate the right of mankind to believe in God and to practice that belief, have, in every known case, discovered sooner or later that they are tilting in vain against an inherent, essential, undying quality, indeed necessity, of the human race -- a quality and a necessity in very fact which in every century have proved an essential to permanent progress, and I speak of religion. (Applause)

Clear thinking and earnest effort and sincere faith will result in thorough-going support throughout the whole Nation of efforts such as yours. The spirit of our people has not been blunted, it has not been daunted. It has come through the trials of these days unafraid. We have ventured and we have won; we shall venture further and we shall win again. Yes, the traditions of a great people have been enriched. In our measures of recovery and of relief we have preserved all that is best in our history and we are building thereon a new structure -- strong and firm and permanent.

I can never express in words what the loyalty and trust of the Nation have meant to me. Not for a moment have I doubted that we would climb out of the valley of gloom. Always I have

been certain that we would conquer, because the spirit of America springs from faith -- faith in the beloved institutions of our land, and a true and abiding faith in the divine guidance of God. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE DEDICATION
OF THE SAMUEL GOMPERS MEMORIAL MONUMENT

Washington, D. C., October 7, 1933.

It is fitting that in the Capital of the Nation a statue should stand through the ages, to remind future generations of the services to that Nation of a patriot who served his country well. It is fitting that the Government, through its representatives, should take part in the dedication of this monument. It is fitting that I should appear here in my official capacity; but it is also fitting that I should be here in my personal capacity, as one who has always been proud of the personal friendship which he held for many years with Samuel Gompers.

I knew him first when as a very young man I came to New York City and received his fine support in the establishment of pure milk stations for the feeding of undernourished babies. From then on, we had many mutual tasks. It is, I think, a commentary on the progress toward social justice which we have accomplished in a short space of time, when I tell you that in the year 1911 -- only twenty-two years ago -- Samuel Gompers, Robert F. Wagner, Alfred E. Smith and I were labeled as radicals when we fought for and finally succeeded in passing a bill through the New York State Legislature, limiting the work of women in industry to fifty-four hours a week. These early struggles for social betterment -- struggles which in

large part were initiated by him -- have met with growing success with every passing year. I like to think that Samuel Gompers is today, and at this moment, aware of the fact that through the quick and practical action of the National Recovery Act, child labor in the United States has at last come to an end.

During the years of the Wilson Administration, the friendship between us grew and strengthened. I need not speak of his great service to organized labor in their relations with private employers; but I can speak rightfully of the splendid cooperation which at all times he gave to the sympathetic adjustment of problems relating to workers for the Government itself. He understood well the fact that these who serve the Government serve the people as a whole. It was in the fulfillment of this principle that he approached the whole subject of the relationship of labor to the Government at the outbreak of the World War. As a member of the advisory committee of the Council of National Defense, he was a part of the great organization which met the crisis of war. But more than that, it was his patriotic leadership for the unanimous mobilization of the workers in every part of the Union, which supplemented the mobilization of the men who went to the front.

The keen analysis of President Wilson made this reference to Mr. Gompers, in November 1917:

"If I may be permitted to do so I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision and his statesmanlike sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral."

In those few words President Wilson summed up the splendid national services of Samuel Gompers, and at the same time preached a sermon that applied to capital and labor alike.

That sermon is just as good today as it was in 1917. We are engaged in another war, and I believe from the bottom of my heart that organized labor is doing its share to win this war. The whole of the country has a common enemy; industry, agriculture, capital, labor are all engaged in fighting it. Just as in 1917 we are seeking to pull in harness; just as in 1917, horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral.

Mr. Gompers understood and went along with that thought during the years of the War, and we have many evidences of his acceptance of the fact that the horses pulling in harness were the horses of the employees and of the employers as well. In those years a few, happily a very few horses had to be lassoed -- both kinds of horses; and today the conditions are very similar.

In the field of organized labor there are problems just as there were in the Spring of 1917 -- questions of

jurisdiction which have to be settled quickly and effectively in order to prevent the slowing-up of the general program. There are the perfectly natural problems of selfish individuals who seek personal gain by running counter to the calm judgment of sound leadership. There are hot-heads who think that results can be obtained by noise or violence; there are insidious voices seeking to instill methods or principles which are wholly foreign to the American form of democratic government.

On the part of employers there are some who shudder at anything new. There are some who think in terms of dollars and cents instead of in terms of human lives; there are some who themselves would prefer government by a privileged class instead of by majority rule.

But it is clear that the sum of the recalcitrants on both sides cuts a very small figure in the total of employers and employees alike, who are going along whole-heartedly in the war against depression.

You of the Federation of Labor and its affiliations are in the broad sense giving the same kind of fine cooperation to your Government which Samuel Gompers and his associates gave to that same Government in the old days.

Even as in the old days when I was in the Navy Department, Mr. Gompers and the Federation were at all times on a footing of friendship and cooperation with me, -- even so today President Green and his associates are working

with my Administration toward the attainment of our National purposes. The overwhelming majority of the workers understand, as do the overwhelming majority of the employers of the country, that this is no time to seek special privilege, undue advantage, or personal gain, because of the fact of a crisis. Like the duly constituted officials of your Government, we must put and we are putting unselfish patriotism first. That would have been the order of Samuel Gompers if he were with us today.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT DELIVERED BY RADIO
FROM THE WHITE HOUSE TO THE THIRD ANNUAL
WOMEN'S CONFERENCE OF CURRENT PROBLEMS
MEETING IN NEW YORK CITY
October 13, 1933, 10.00 P. M.

I am glad to have the opportunity of greeting those who are attending the Third Annual Women's Conference on Current Problems.

I note that the subject of this Conference is "This Crisis in History", and this leads me to suggest that the short space of ten minutes will scarcely allow me to do more than congratulate you on your courage in seeking fully to discuss "This Crisis in History" in the space of two days.

May I, however, touch very briefly on two matters which are much in my mind -- two problems which can be helped by public interest and public discussion.

One of them relates to the peace of the world. The danger to world peace certainly does not come from the United States of America. As a nation, we are overwhelmingly against engaging in war. As a nation we are seeking no additional territory at the expense of our neighbors.

The United States does not seek to annex Canada or any part thereof, to annex Mexico or any part thereof, or to annex Cuba or any part thereof. It is this attitude

of the overwhelming majority of our people towards their neighbors -- this complete lack of a national desire for territorial expansion which makes the rest of the world begin to understand that the United States is opposed to war.

I will go one step further in saying that the very great majority of the inhabitants of the world feel the same as we do about territorial expansion or getting rich or powerful at the expense of their neighbors. It is only in the case of such people in the world as still have imperialistic desires for expansion and domination in their minds or in their hearts that threats to world peace lie. And, finally, it seems clear to me that it is only through constant education and the stressing of the ideals of peace that those who still seek imperialism can be brought in line with the majority.

The other thought that I want to express to you is even more definitely along the line of education. It is true, unfortunately, that the economic depression has left its serious mark not only on the science and practice of education but also on the very lives of many hundreds of thousands of children who are destined to become our future citizens.

Every one of us has sought to reduce the cost of government. Every one of us believes that the cost of government, especially of local government, can be reduced still further by good business methods and the elimination of the wrong kind of politics. Nevertheless, with good business management and the doing away with extravagance and frills and the unnecessary elements of our educational practices, we must at the same time have the definite objective in every state and in every school district of restoring the useful functions of education at least to their pre-depression level. We have today, for example, a large surplus of so-called qualified teachers -- men and women who even if we had full prosperity would and probably should be unable to find work in the field of education. Even today we are turning out too many new teachers each year. That is just as much an economic waste as building steel rail plants far beyond the capacity of railroads to use steel rails. It goes without saying that we should have enough teachers and not a large excess supply. It goes also without saying that the quality of our teaching in almost every state of which I have knowledge can be definitely and distinctly raised. The main point is that we need to make infinitely better the average education which the average child now receives, and that,

through this education, we will instill into the coming generation a realization of the part that the coming generation must play in working out what you have called "this crisis in history". This crisis can be met but not in a day or a year, and education is a vital factor in the meeting of it.

I am told that tonight I speak not only to the Conference on Current Problems but to colleges and universities throughout the country, many federations of women's clubs, almost two thousand organizations interested in education, public and private schools and state educational associations, numbering among their members many of the educational leaders of America. I mention this because, in closing, I want to enlist your support in the fight we are making on the depression. When this fight is won, your problems will be solved. You can help your Government -- Federal, state and local -- and we in Government want your help.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
Delivered by Radio from The White House for the
1933 Mobilization for Human Needs
October 15, 1933

I have spoken on several occasions of the vital importance to our country that private charity in all that that broad term covers must be kept up at least to the levels, and I hope even beyond the levels of former years. At this Opening of the Four Weeks' 1933 Mobilization for Human Needs, I want not only to reaffirm what I have said before but to stress the fact that the fine teamwork in the recovery program cannot be successful if an important horse is lying back in the traces.

It is true that I have declared that Government must not let anyone starve this winter; but at the same time this policy is predicated on the assumption that the individual American citizen will continue to do his and her part, even more unselfishly than in the past.

Let me stress that a great many people will still need the help of relief agencies this winter. It is true that because of a partial, but I believe a steadily growing, reemployment of the unemployed, many families and many individuals have been taken off the local relief rolls. But, on the other hand, the needs of those who are still on the rolls

is proportionately greater than it was before, and, in addition to the work of direct relief, it is necessary for us to continue our support of the permanent hospital and welfare services that exist in every county and in most communities.

A number -- I am glad to say a small number -- of people have written to me to express the thought that all relief work should be taken over by the Government, and have intimated that they would not feel any duty this year to subscribe to local relief or local charity. These people have a wholly wrong slant on the fundamental basis of our American civilization. They deny the civic responsibility of the individual and would seek to toss every problem into the lap of Government. They are "buck passers".

On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of the American people understand clearly that it is first the duty of the individual and the local community to do all that they can to maintain relief and welfare; that it is then the obligation of the State Government to supplement local efforts, and that finally, if all of this put together is not sufficient, the Federal Government stands ready to help.

This Mobilization for Human Needs will keep the long established hospital and welfare services going. These services existed long before the depression; they will exist long after the depression is over.

I ask every citizen to give his or her support to the community chests and to other organizations that raise funds for the regular welfare services -- bodies which express the instincts of charity, of humanity, and of neighborliness. They are an essential to the whole American scheme of life. Their meaning is expressed in the name -- The Mobilization for Human Needs.

I am glad indeed that my old friend, Newton D. Baker, once more is heading the forces of mobilization, and this time we are all happy that it is a mobilization of peace.

JCF Dec 4, 1927

INFORMAL EXTEMPOREANOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE GOVERNORS, MAYORS AND CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATORS
ATTENDING THE CIVIL WORKS MEETING
EAST ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE
November 15, 1933, 4 P.M.

(There were about 500 people at this meeting.

Mr. Hopkins said, "Mr. President, you have before you the Governors of States, the Mayors of our great cities, and Civil Works Administrators who are here to pledge you their devotion and service to this cause which you have created and established." (Applause)

My friends, I will tell you an official secret.

Harry Hopkins wrote out two and a half very excellent pages of suggestions as to what I should say. They are on the desk. I subscribe to his sentiments one hundred per cent. But, I am not going to read them. You will see them printed in the papers tomorrow morning. (Applause -- laughter)

I don't want to talk to you officially, but unofficially and extemporaneously. First of all, I want to thank you for coming here.

This group, representative of the entire country, has in its hands to accomplish something that no nation has ever before done. As you know, during the past eight months we have tried honestly and practically to

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

November 18, 1933

Mayor Campbell, Governor Talmadge, My Friends of Georgia
and South Carolina:

I am glad to come back again to my own State, (applause)
and because Georgia has given me the privilege of serving as the
Honorary Chairman of the Celebration of this Bicentennial year
of the founding of Georgia, I have come to Savannah in an official
capacity.

But I come here also because of all that Georgia means
to me personally, through my long association with this State
and also through the kinship which my wife and my children bear
to the early settlers who participated with Oglethorpe in the
founding of civilization on this portion of the Atlantic Sea-
board. (Applause)

I feel that apart from the ties of Colonial ancestry,
I have additional kinship with the founders of the thirteen
American colonies. It has been remarked of late by certain
modern Tories that those who are today in charge of your National
Government are guilty of great experimentation. And they are
right. (Applause) If I read my history correctly, the same
suggestion was used when Englishmen, two centuries ago, protest-
ing in vain against intolerable conditions at home, founded new

colonies in the American wilderness, as an experiment. And the same suggestion was used during the period in 1776 when the Washingtons, the Adamses, the Bullocks and other people of that time conducted another experiment.

Three quarters of a year have gone by since I left Georgia; during that time you have conducted a dignified and history-teaching State-wide celebration. During that time, the lives of the people of this Commonwealth, like the lives of the inhabitants of all the other States, have undergone a great change.

I am happy in the thought that it has been a change for the better; that I have come back to see smiles replacing gloom, (applause) to see hope replacing despair, and to see faith restored to its rightful place. You good people have given me evidence of that this morning.

While we are celebrating the planting of the Colony of Georgia, we remember that if the early settlers had been content to remain on the coast, there would have been no Georgia today. It was the spirit of moving forward that led to the exploration of the great domain of Piedmont and the mountains that drove the western border of this Colony to the very banks of the Mississippi River itself. Yet, all through those great years of the pioneer, we must remember that there were the doubting Thomases, there was the persistent opposition of those who feared change, of those who wanted to let things alone.

(played the part of the mule who had to be goaded to get him out of the stable).

In coming for a two weeks' visit among you, my neighbors, I shall have opportunity to improve myself and my own perspective by reading of the makers of our history with the thought before me that although problems and terms of problems change, the principles and objectives of American self-government remain the same. I have heard so much of (so-called) economics during the past few months (in recent weeks) that it was refreshing the other day to have my friend, the Governor of New Hampshire, call my attention to a paragraph written by one of the Daddies of all economists about a century ago (by that father of economists,) John Stuart Mill. He said this:

"History shows that great economic and social forces flow like a tide over communities only half conscious of that which is befalling them. Wise statesmen foresee what time is thus bringing and try to shape institutions and mold men's thoughts and purposes in accordance with the change that is silently coming on.

"The unwise are those who bring nothing constructive to the process, and who greatly imperil the future of mankind, by leaving great questions to be fought out between ignorant change on one hand, and ignorant opposition to change, on the other."

(Applause)

I sometimes think that the saving grace of America lies in the fact that the overwhelming majority of Americans are possessed of two great qualities -- a sense of humor and

a sense of proportion. With the sense of humor they smile good naturedly at those who would divide up all the money in the Nation on a per capita basis every Saturday night and smile equally at those who lament that they would rather possess pounds and francs than dollars. (Applause) And with that other quality, our sense of proportion, we understand and accept the fact that in the short space of one year we cannot cure a chronic illness that beset us for twelve years, nor restore the social and economic order with equal and simultaneous success in every part of the Nation and in every walk of life. But my friends, we are on our way. (Applause)

It is the pioneering spirit and understanding perspective of the people of the United States which already is making itself felt not only here but among other nations of the world. The simple translation of the peaceful and neighborly purposes of the United States has already given to our sister American republics a greater faith in professions of friendship than they have held since the time, a century ago, when James Monroe encouraged South America and Central America in their struggles for freedom. So, too, my friends, I have had a good example of the effect of honest statement and simple explanation of the fundamental American policy during the past week in Washington. For sixteen long years a nation, larger even than ours in population and extent of territory, has been unable to speak officially with the United States or to maintain normal

relations. I believe sincerely that the most impelling motive that has lain behind the conversations which were successfully concluded yesterday between Russia and the United States was the desire of both countries for peace and for the strengthening of the peaceful purpose of the civilized world. (Applause)

I think it will interest you to know that in the year 1809 the President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, wrote as follows to his Russian friend, Monsieur Dashkoff:

"Russia and the United States being in character and practice essentially pacific, a common interest in the rights of peaceable nations gives us a common cause in their maintenance."

And so in this spirit of Thomas Jefferson, Mr. Litvinoff and I have believed that through the resumption of normal relations the prospects of peace over all the world are greatly strengthened.

Furthermore, my friends, I am confident that in a State like Georgia, which had its roots in religious teachings and religious liberty, a state in which the first Sunday School was established, there must be satisfaction to know that from now on any American sojourning among the great Russian people will be free to worship God in his own way. (Applause)

It is perhaps equally especially significant that I should speak of the resumption of relations with Russia in the City from which over a century ago the first trans-Atlantic steamship set out on its voyage to the old world. (Applause)

I am glad to be back on Georgia soil. I am hurrying to Warm Springs with special interest, for I shall find there a splendid new building, given to the cause of helping crippled children by the citizens of the State of Georgia. (Applause) And I am hurrying back there to my cottage for the almost equally important objective of seeing to it that a prize Georgia turkey (laughter) is put into the primest possible condition for the Thanksgiving Day feast. (Applause)

On this Thanksgiving, I like to think that many more fathers and mothers and children will partake of turkey than they have in recent years. What a splendid thing it would be if in every community, in every State in the land, in celebration of this Thanksgiving -- and here in Georgia in celebration of the Bicentennial of the founding of the Colony -- every community would set as its Thanksgiving Day objective the providing of a Thanksgiving dinner for those who have not yet been blessed by the returning prosperity sufficiently to provide their own. (Applause)

Let me, in closing, read to you a very short passage from a message delivered a generation ago by a great son of a great Georgia mother, Theodore Roosevelt: (Applause) He said:

"Materially we must strive to secure a broader economic opportunity for all men so that each shall have a better chance to show the stuff of which he is made. Spiritually and ethically we must strive to bring about clean living and right thinking. We appreciate that the things of the body are important; but we appreciate also that the things of the soul are

immeasurably more important. The foundation stone of national life is and ever must be the high individual character of the individual citizen."

My friends, I count on that individual citizen, and on his character and on her character, to continue with me our American march of progress. (Applause, prolonged)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORENEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FITZGERALD, GEORGIA
November 18, 1933, 3.17 P.M.

I am glad to see you all. We had a great celebration down in Savannah this morning and I am glad to come through Fitzgerald. I have never been through here before, although I have been in most of the other parts of Georgia. The one thing we have in common, Warm Springs and this place, is that we are on the same railroad. (Applause)

I am very glad I am having this chance to have a good talk with your good Governor (Talmadge). (Applause)

He is with me here now and I am going to ask him to say a few words to you. (Applause)

(Governor Talmadge: "I just want to say this, that we have got a real President who is for the average little man and little woman in this country." (Applause))

I can say one thing and that is that there are a whole lot more smiles on people's faces than there were when I came down through here last February. (Applause)

(Mrs. Roosevelt came out on the platform and was greeted by cheers and applause. The President and the Governor, between them, estimated the crowd at between 2,000 and 3,000.)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
CORDELE, GEORGIA
November 18, 1933, 4.25 P.M.

I am glad to be able to come to Cordele at last. I have been threatening to come here for the last two or three years, ever since I had a talk with a committee from Crisp County who told me all about what you are doing. People from Crisp County come up to see me in Warm Springs from time to time and I have followed what you have been doing here with a lot of interest, and in various parts of the United States I have held out Crisp County as one of the fine examples of good American progressive citizenship. (Applause)

I am having a two-weeks holiday now and I grabbed hold of the Governor down in Savannah this morning and made him come along with me. (Applause)

It is fine to see you and I hope that the Governor will be willing to say a few words to you.

(The Governor introduced the President's Mother who thanked the audience for her flowers.)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORENEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA (AT RAILROAD STATION)
November 18, 1933, 6.45 P.M.

(The President, in response to a short welcoming address, said:

May I thank you all. I don't have to say that it comes from the bottom of my heart, because you know that it does. I am awfully glad to be back home again with my neighbors in Merriweather County and Warm Springs.

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
FROM GEORGIA HALL
MARYLAND TERCENTENARY CELEBRATION

November 22, 1933 - 3.45 P.M.

Governor Ritchie, my friends of Maryland. This is rightly the day dedicated to Lord Baltimore and to the men and women who sailed under his banners just three centuries ago. They sought at the outset a priceless possession and they sought it not for themselves alone but for all others, even for those who disagreed with them. I think it is hard in all history to find a better example of hearty, determined cooperation, of the will to do for others in order that we may do the best for ourselves. It is a spirit which we praise because it existed three hundred years ago, but it is the spirit that we ought to match in 1933. When in 1633 the Expedition set out of Cowes, England, from that very waterfront where the American Ambassador stood just now as he and Lord Fairfax made their remarks, that expedition, while a later one than others, was very much in advance of them in one respect. Lord Baltimore and his colonists sought in their charter liberty not alone for the members of the expedition but for all later comers as well. It is a good thing to demand liberty for ourselves and for those who agree with us, but it is a better thing and rarer thing to give liberty to others who do not agree with us. We would do

less than our duty to Lord Baltimore if on such an anniversary we paid no tribute to this, his greatest contribution to America, a free America. May we, in our own fights for things which we know to be right, fight as ably and as successfully as he did 300 years ago. For we have our own fights to wage, not against the same foe which he beat down, but against other foes just as obstinate and just as powerful and just as intolerant of things we fight for today.

And so, my friends, I hope that this 300-year anniversary of the founding of Maryland which will go on from now through the year 1934 will be a success not only for those who partake in it but also will be a reminder to people throughout the United States of the great fight that Lord Baltimore made three centuries ago for religious freedom in America.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE DEDICATION OF GEORGIA HALL
WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA

November 24, 1933

Most people have visions of things they would like to see accomplished; fortunate are those who with their own eyes see the accomplishment becoming a fact.

Most of you who are here tonight know the story of Warm Springs during the past nine years. You know of the hopeful handful of crippled children and adults who came seeking to walk again, and of the growth of our physical facilities and of our medical care to the point where the completion of Georgia Hall gives us a clear idea of the rounded picture of the Georgia Warm Springs of the future.

In all these years our splendid progress would have been impossible had we not had the sympathy, the understanding and the help of our neighbors; and tonight I express my appreciation and thanks, first, to you my neighbors of Warm Springs and Meriwether County, for your true friendship toward me and toward all those who have come here; and secondly, to you the people of Georgia whose welcome hospitality has culminated in this splendid gift to the Foundation and made me feel prouder than ever to call this "my other home."

It is this understanding spirit on the part of those who surround us that has contributed so greatly to what we call the "spirit of Warm Springs."

No perfectly appointed hospital, no medical care of the highest skill can accomplish the best results unless at the same time we build up, as Mr. Callaway has said, confidence, self-reliance and cheerfulness on the part of the patients themselves. That is why the Warm Springs Foundation has established itself as a practical success in bringing back so many crippled children and crippled grown-ups to normal activities, and at the same time to a normal confidence in themselves.

We hear much these days of two adjectives -- "social" and "economic." Generally they are used to denote different things. Here at Warm Springs we have proved that in our work they go hand in hand. Let me give you an example: If a child is so incapacitated, because of infantile paralysis or accident or some other cause, that the child is unable to get about, take care of himself and go to school, the chances are that in most cases some grown-up person must spend a large part of the time in taking care of the child. Every social objective requires that the child be rehabilitated to lead a normal life -- to become a useful member of society. In accomplishing this we reach at the same time the economic objective, for we restore the child and at the same time we release a member of his family

from the constant supervision and care of the child, and enable that person so to be an economically useful unit in the community.

Figures show that there are well over three hundred thousand crippled children in the United States and probably at least an equal number of grown-up people. It is my belief, and I think the belief of the doctors of the United States, that the great majority of these citizens of ours, more than half a million of them, can be restored to useful citizenship if we can give them the most modern, scientific, medical and educational treatment. Toward the attainment of that goal the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation seeks to play a leading part. This work at Warm Springs is not local; people come here from every state in the Union and from many foreign countries. It is true that we can take care of only a small proportion of those who need care; but at the same time the educational value of the methods and of their results is making itself widely felt in the care of the handicapped throughout the United States.

I wish much that people all over the country could be with us here tonight to learn of the splendid effectiveness of the work we are doing; to see this beautiful building which for all time will be the center of our work, and especially to understand that thing which we call "the spirit of Warm Springs," which does so much to supplement

the skill of science. The people of Georgia have given to this work a noble gift. In the name of the Trustees of the Foundation I thank them, and especially I thank the Georgia Hall Committee, who under the untiring efforts and leadership of Mr. Cason Callaway and Mr. Cator Woolford, have made intangible the vision of many years ago.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

Georgia Hall, Warm Springs, Georgia,
Thanksgiving Dinner, November 30, 1933

THE PRESIDENT: Members of the family of Warm Springs:

I suppose I have to have my chance at the press and so I will tell you now that there are certain papers in the United States that you need not read tomorrow because I am going to tell you now what the headlines are going to be tomorrow morning. They are going to say that Dr. Julian Boehm is going to be appointed Secretary of the Treasury (laughter) and that Gus Gennerch is going to head the Federal Reserve System (laughter).

I don't know what the number of this party is, the eighth or ninth, or something like that, but I go back to the days when there was Fred Botts and two or three other people here for Thanksgiving, when we had our Thanksgiving party down in what we call Wreck - I don't know that it is even called "Wreck" nowadays, but then I go back to the time in 1927, when a lot of you people here in the front part of the room were not even born - centuries ago - generations ago, in the days of your fathers and mothers. In 1927 we had 80 people at the Thanksgiving party and when, in 1928, we got up to 102 people, we all cheered. 1930, I think it was, in that first year of the great depression, we passed the 200 mark, and in 1931 we got up to 270 people. In 1932 we passed the 300 mark and we had 310 people who sat down in the old dining room for Thanksgiving evening. In 1932 - 310 people, and it was so many people that the old dining room sank three inches. And largely because of that physical fact Arthur Carpenter got cold feet. Arthur Carpenter said "we will never have another Thanksgiving in the old dining room."

He was right. He was a prophet and we will never have another there, thank God, and that is why we are here tonight. We are because we made up our minds a year ago that we would never have another Thanksgiving party in that dangerous old dining room. What has happened? There are 370 people here tonight and I find that there is only one thing I never did provide for; I never happened to mention to Henry Toombs that he might have to have a bigger dining room than this one. We may have to in time - nobody can tell when - and if things go as fast in the next ten years as they have in the past ten years, Henry is going to be busy day and night building new buildings for us. I am not going to make any set and formal speech and because the hour is getting a little bit late, and we have a lot of people we want to look at, I am going to start introducing them now. First of all I am going to introduce to you the Granddaddy of Warm Springs, a very wonderful person who goes back to the Georgia of the days before the war, the war between the States - a very wonderful man who went north after that, and who, all his life, has been doing good to his fellow-men. He is the man who, a good many years ago, found that the old Warm Springs was about to pass out of the ownership that had held it for many years, and who came to its rescue and, after he had come to its rescue, he wrote to me about it. That is how I happened to come down here. As a result of that visit and as a result of the splendid cooperation that I had from the Granddaddy of Warm Springs, we are all here tonight. And so I know that you will be glad to see my old friend, that splendid American citizen, George Foster Peabody (applause).

And then in those old days - before you people were born (indi-

cating young folks in front of him) - 1925, and you all know the story, various people came down here and there wasn't any doctor. There wasn't any swimming pool and there wasn't any anything, except a few old cottages and, as you know, you had to go to bed in the dark because anybody on the outside could see you through the boards if you stayed in the light. In those days we started what was called the medical experiment, to see whether Warm Springs was going to be worth while. I couldn't swing it alone, and I found a very wonderful man from out in Chicago who dreamt the same dream that I did, and he came along. Through his generosity - more than generosity - through his faith and his belief in what we might accomplish, we held in the spring of 1926 what was called the Medical Experiment, and through that we sold the idea of Warm Springs to the Medical profession. The man who made possible that period of proving what we believed in was Henry Pope, one of our Trustees, and he is here with us tonight (applause).

And then, as time went on, we decided that we weren't just Georgia, or just the United States; we decided that we were the spirit of America in the broader sense of the word - the whole of the continent. We realized that there were a lot of cousins of ours who lived across the line, and a lot of people came down from Canada, among them a good friend of ours who has stayed by us through thick and thin, and who has spread the Gospel all through Canada, Leighton McCarthy (applause).

Of course, all of us who are old-timers, saw that we had to get in some youngsters, and so we have come down to what may be called the second generation of Warm Springs. Tomorrow at our Trustees Meeting we are going to elect a young man as Trustee who has done much for the

Foundation - done much in the same spirit for the Foundation as he has applied to the service he has accomplished for the government. He is a young man and an old friend of mine. He has given the right kind of spirit to his work for your country, and tomorrow, I am very glad to say, we are going to have a new Trustee, Jim Moffett, of New York (applause).

Then, I am coming back to a sort of side kick of mine. You know, things don't just happen, and bills just don't get paid, and accounts just don't get made up haphazard, and I was very fortunate in those past years in having as my law partner a man who is not only a good lawyer and, believe me, they are mighty rare, but also a man who understood what all this work was about, and who has given unselfishly and without pay - which is something that most lawyers don't do - a great deal of time and effort to keeping our books straight and proving to the public that we were a sound financial institution. More than that, he has given of his time and his influence and his money in showing the city of New York and the United States something about the ideals that we all have. My old friend, Basil O'Connor (applause).

In talking to you about the spreading of the story that has to go on from day to day, I don't suppose there is anybody in this country who has done more in the past to spread the story and who is doing more at the present time to spread the story, than Keith Morgan, and I am going to ask him to get up now - Keith (applause).

You have all heard a lot about the story of Warm Springs. In those old days, in the spring of 1926, everything depended on the way the experiment was started and, as you all know, it wasn't just a question of medical care, it isn't just a question of the exercises we all take, but

it is a question of the spirit of Warm Springs, and there is nobody in this room now who is more responsible for the spirit of Warm Springs than our old friend, Dr. Leroy W. Hubbard (applause).

Last week we had a party here - the christening of this Hall - Georgia Hall - and I said then what I am not going to repeat now, except the bare outline of the fact that we would not any of us be here tonight unless this section of Georgia and the State of Georgia had not only welcomed us with open arms but also done everything they could to assist us in our work. For a good many years we have had the vision of Georgia Hall, but it took our neighbor from over in Lagrange to make that dream come true. And so Cason Calloway, in all of the future days of the Warm Springs Foundation and of Georgia and of the country, is going to be known as the man who more greatly than any other started our dream to come true. Cason Calloway (applause).

I really should have introduced his partner in this great enterprise at the same time that I introduced him, because up in the first city of this State - in Atlanta - the man who so greatly helped Cason Calloway and made possible the completion of the Hall was Mr. Cator Woolford, and I am glad he has come back with us again tonight. (Applause)

I go back to a certain time of 1924, the time when everything was closed - even the old Inn - and it was pretty lonesome down here. All of the good people down in the Village were most kind and gave us every kind of hospitality. But outside of old Tom Lawley, who was running things here in the off season as well as the open season, there wasn't anybody up here on the old hill at all except the old postmaster, but all of a sudden, one afternoon, there came up to my cottage a very charming lady, and she said, "I am the owner of this property, or, rather, I was the owner up to

a very short time ago, because it was my family that owned and developed Warm Springs through all these years", and so we are happy in having the interest of the Davis family and the Wilkins family in the past, but also happy in having the continued interest that Miss Georgia Wilkins has given to this old property that she will always feel in her heart belongs to her. Miss Wilkins (applause).

You know, this work isn't just local. It covers a very wide area. It covers in its practical application the need of cooperation of science in this whole section of the United States. It needs the help of other hospitals and other institutions, so that we can carry out a rounded work down here. I am very happy that Dr. Hoke has made it possible for us to be affiliated with the Piedmont Hospital in Atlanta, and I am glad that Dr. Floyd McCrae is here tonight so that we can tell him a little bit of our appreciation of the splendid cooperation that the Piedmont Hospital is giving to our Foundation. Dr. McCrae (applause).

And now I am going to introduce to you another very old friend of mine. We have been working on a great variety of social problems, charitable problems, economic problems, and government problems, for I don't know how many years, and during all these years - I think it started a way back in 1927 - we have had his interest in the work that we were doing. But this is the first time that he has had a chance to come down here and see the work with his own eyes. You all know of him and you all know of the splendid contribution he has made to American life. Mr. Raymond Fosdick, of New York (applause).

And with him, as a guest, is a great builder - a man who built Radio City. A lot of people poked fun at Radio City and said that it would never be used and probably it would never have been used if the conditions

that prevailed up until a few months ago had continued (applause). But today, the builder of Radio City, Mr. John Harris, can feel justified, I believe, in the great work he has accomplished, and we are glad to have his interest in Warm Springs (applause).

A great many years ago a very delightful young couple, half American and half British, came down here. They have been coming almost all the time ever since, and we hope they will always come down here, Mr. and Mrs. Patterson. Mr. Patterson is making possible, through his kindness and his energy, a very wonderful concert that is going to be held in New York City in about ten days, a concert for the benefit of the Warm Springs Foundation. Mr. Patterson (applause).

Then, we have another problem. Nobody knows anything about the water, where it comes from or where it goes. All we know is that out of these hills come all kinds of waters. I often think of the fact that about five miles west of here there are white sulphur springs and black sulphur springs and yellow sulphur springs, and here we have our own Warm Springs, with magnesium and lime. Only about a mile east of here there is a spring that has nothing in it at all except that it is just plain water and very cold, and then about five miles further, there is another spring that has iron in it. Yet there has never been any scientific survey of this Pine Mountain region. I tried a number of years ago to get the U. S. Government interested in a geological survey of this mountain of ours, but I was told by the government that then existed in Washington, that there was nothing in the water anyway (laughter). But in the past few months I have been able, somehow, to persuade Washington (laughter) that there is something in water, and so the Geological Survey in Washington is co-operating with the State of Georgia, and we are starting a survey of what

lies under Pine Mountain. I am quite sure that we would all like to know something about it from the scientific point of view. The result is that this survey of the geology of Pine Mountain that Mr. Peabody and I have been talking about for years is about to be actually started - started under the direction of Dr. Hewitt, of the Federal Service, and Dr. Krickmay, the Georgia State geologist. We are going to find out something we have never known before. I am going to ask those two gentlemen to stand up (applause).

Now there are three old friends, and I know you won't forget who they are. Even in these past ten days that I have been here, any number of people have come to me and they have said that in history there have been some very wonderful architectural projects started in the United States, and when they have been completed they have served as lessons to generations to come - for instance, the University of Virginia has been widely copied throughout America. I think that we are very fortunate in having a Georgian, an old friend of ours, who has caught the spirit, not only of Colonial days, but the spirit of the future in the designing of what I believe will be an architectural gem that will be visited and written about and looked at for many generations to come. The man who is responsible for it is our old friend Henry Toombs, and he has got to get up whether he likes it or not (applause).

I don't know whether you know it, but the only reason I am doing all this talking tonight, is because Arthur Carpenter again had cold feet. (Laughter) But it gives me a chance to get back at him. A good many years ago there wasn't any head of things. Topsy ran Warm Springs. Well, we discovered a youngster down here who was fully capable of handling the job of running Warm Springs. He not only caught the spirit of Warm Springs,

but he gave a spirit of his own to the development of the place, and if it had not been for Arthur Carpenter, you and I would not be in this Hall tonight. And if it had not been for Arthur Carpenter there would not be any Warm Springs tonight, and whether he likes it or not, I am going to tell you quite frankly that Arthur Carpenter is my right bower, and if it were not for him, this place could not keep on going. Get up Arthur (applause).

Once upon a time there was a doctor (laughter). Thank God, a doctor with a sense of humor and with a heart. He suggested tonight, when we were seeing those tricks - when we were seeing those things disappear, that it would be wonderful if the medical profession could make things disappear from the human body as easily as Mr. Boahn made those things disappear on the stage. Magic cannot accomplish that result with the human body, but modern science comes pretty close to equalling magic. One of the men - one of the two or three men in the whole of the United States - carrying out scientific magic on human beings, who cure them and make them useful citizens, is the Surgeon in Chief of the Warm Springs Foundation. But it is not just a question of scientific skill. It is not just a question of expertness with a knife. It is just as much, I believe, a matter of the understanding of human nature - the understanding of what to try and what not to try. He is a man who is dear to my heart because he is not above a logical experiment (applause). He is also dear to my heart because in a larger percentage of cases than anybody else I know, his experiments work (applause). And with it all, I don't have to say any more to you people, young and old, about Dr. Hoke. He is our friend, and he understands the spirit of the place, and he understands what he can do and what he can accomplish, and that is why

I believe today that the Foundation is more greatly blessed in having him here than any other one thing. He has a vision, just as we have a vision, a vision of making Warm Springs not merely a place where we will take care of a comparatively limited number of people - which is all we can manage to take care of down here - but also a place where we can do good to a great many other people - a great many people who cannot come here. That is by proving, by our example, that the things we are doing are worth while, that they can be duplicated in other parts of the country, that we can be not merely an institution for therapy, for the care of the individual, but also an institution for education - education of the medical profession, education of families, of individuals, and of children. So that, in some way, in many ways, we can make our influence felt among hundreds of thousands of people in our country who, for one reason or another, need the kind of care we are providing here.

And as an indication of the interest of the Old World in the work we are doing here, we have present among us tonight Dr. Heartl, of Germany, who has come here to study our work, and make a scientific study of the waters.

And so, my friends, I think it is appropriate that in closing these introductions, I should again introduce to you a very old friend, who to me means more for the future of Warm Springs than any of the other people who are connected with our Institution, a man whom we recognize as a great leader, not only of American medicine, but of American progress - social progress and economic progress in every branch - Dr. Michael Hoke (applause).

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT BEFORE
THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
OF CHRIST IN AMERICA, AT MEMORIAL
CONTINENTAL HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 6, 1933

I am honored by the privilege of speaking to the delegated representatives of twenty-five Christian denominations assembled here on the twenty-fifty anniversary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. In this quarter of a century you have surrendered no individual creed, but at the same time you have been creating a much needed union that seeks to better the social and moral conditions of all the people of America.

During a quarter of a century more greatly controlled by the spirit of conquest and greed than any similar period since the American and the French revolutions you have survived and grown. You have come through to the threshhold of a new era in which your churches and the other churches -- Gentile and Jew -- recognize and stand ready to lead in a new war of peace -- the war for social justice.

Christianity was born in and of an era notable for the great gulf that separated the privileged from the underprivileged of the world of two thousand years ago -- an era of lines of demarcation between conquerors and conquered; between caste and caste; between warring philosophies based on

the theories of logicians rather than on practical humanities. The early churches were united in a social ideal.

Although through all the centuries we know of many periods when civilization has slipped a step backward, yet I am confident that over the sum of the centuries we have gained many steps for every one we have lost.

Now, once more, we are embarking on another voyage into the realm of human contacts. That human agency which we call government is seeking through social and economic means the same goal which the churches are seeking through social and spiritual means.

If I were asked to state the great objective which church and state are both demanding for the sake of every man and woman and child in this country, I would say that that great objective is "a more abundant life".

The early Christians challenged the pagan ethics of Greece and of Rome; we are wholly ready to challenge the pagan ethics that are represented in many phases of our boasted modern civilization. We have called on enlightened business judgment, on understanding labor and on intelligent agriculture to provide a more equitable balance of the abundant life between all elements of the community.

We recognize the right of the individual to seek

and to obtain his own fair wage, his own fair profit, in his own fair way -- just so long as in the doing of it he shall not push down nor hold down his own neighbor. And at the same time, we are at one in calling for collective effort on broad lines of social planning -- a collective effort which is wholly in accord with the social teachings of Christianity.

This new generation of ours stands ready to help us. They may not be as ready as were their fathers and mothers to accept the outward requirements or even many of the ancient observances of the several churches, yet I truly believe that these same churches can find in them a stronger support for the fundamentals of social betterment than many of the older generation are willing to concede.

This younger generation is not satisfied with the exposure of those in high places who seek to line their own nests with other people's money, to cheat their government of its just dues or to break the spirit of the law while observing its legalistic letter. This new generation seeks action -- action by collective government and by individual education, toward the ending of practices such as these.

This new generation, for example, is not content with preachings against that vile form of collective murder -- lynch law -- which has broken out in our midst anew. We

know that it is murder, and a deliberate and definite disobedience of the Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law.

But a thinking America goes further. It seeks a government of its own that will be sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and at the same time to crystallize a public opinion so clear that government of all kinds will be compelled to practice a more certain justice. The judicial function of government is the protection of the individual and of the community through quick and certain justice. That function in many places has fallen into a sad state of disrepair. It must be a part of our program to reestablish it.

From the bottom of my heart I believe that this beloved country of ours is entering upon a time of great gain. That gain can well include a greater material prosperity if we take care that it is a prosperity for a hundred and twenty million human beings and not a prosperity for the top of the pyramid alone. It can be a prosperity socially controlled for the common good. It can be a prosperity built on spiritual and social values rather than on special privilege and special power.

Toward that new definition of prosperity the churches

and the governments, while wholly separate in their functioning, can work hand in hand. Government can ask the churches to stress in their teaching the ideals of social justice, while at the same time government guarantees to the churches -- Gentile and Jew -- the right to worship God in their own way. The churches, while they remain wholly free from even the suggestion of interference in government, can at the same time teach their millions of followers that they have the right to demand of the government of their own choosing, the maintenance and furtherance of "a more abundant life". State and church are rightly united in a common aim. With the help of God, we are on the road toward it.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE LIGHTING OF THE
COMMUNITY TREE IN WASHINGTON
December 24, 1933.

We in the Nation's Capital are gathered around this symbolic tree celebrating the coming of Christmas; in spirit we join with millions of others, men and women and children, throughout our own land and in other countries and continents, in happy and reverent observance of the spirit of Christmas.

For me and for my family it is the happiest of Christmases.

To the many thousands of you who have thought of me and have sent me greetings, and I hope all of you are hearing my voice, I want to tell you how profoundly grateful I am. If it were within my power so to do I would personally thank each and every one of you for your remembrance of me, but there are so many thousands of you that that happy task is impossible.

Even more greatly, my happiness springs from the deep conviction that this year marks a greater national understanding of the significance in our modern lives of the teachings of Him whose birth we celebrate. To more and more of us the words "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thy-

self" have taken on a meaning that is showing itself and proving itself in our purposes and daily lives.

May the practice of that high ideal grow in us all in the year to come.

I give you and send you one and all, old and young, a Merry Christmas and a truly Happy New Year.

And so, for now and for always, "God Bless Us Every One."

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
to the 48 State Directors of the
National Emergency Council
February 2, 1934

I am glad you have undertaken this very great task. We have felt, as you know, for a long time that it was necessary to tie in, in some way, the entire emergency program which, in its many ramifications, we have been undertaking from time to time. We feel also that this work of disseminating information and preventing the crossing of wires, had to be done through decentralization, and that is why you are here. You are the great decentralizers for the Federal Government and, in a sense, also, you are the coordinators between the Federal Government, the state and the local governments. That being so, I think probably that the future success of this program is more in your hands than in the hands of any other group.

Frank Walker, as National Director, has explained to you the various responsibilities you have. If you don't mind, I want to give you a few personal observations, based on certain experiences -- four years in Albany, war work here during the Wilson Administration, and a certain amount of experience in the last few months. They are:

One of the most difficult tasks that I know anything

about is to get around and avoid the results of certain perfectly normal and natural human impulses -- impulses based on selfishness and which take certain forms well known to most of us, either the purely personal form of trying to get special authority or special credit for individual applause or aggrandizement. Another thing we run into is the idea, the thought on the part of some people, of trying to make political capital out of relief work, out of the building up of what is in many ways a new theory of the relationship not only of government to citizen but also the relationship between employer and employee -- the problem of taking care of human needs. Where we have fallen down in these past months I would say in about 90% of the cases, the falling down has been caused quite frankly, by individuals who try to get either personal or political credit out of something that ought not to have either of those factors in the work in any shape, manner or form.

This work has nothing to do with partisan politics -- nothing at all. A great many of you are Republicans, a good many are Democrats -- quite a number do not belong regularly to one party or the other. We are not the least bit interested in the partisan side of this picture.

We do want you to be absolutely hard-boiled if you

find any local person within your own states who is trying to get political advantage out of the relief of human needs and you will have the backing of this Administration 1000%, even if you hit the biggest political boss in the United States on the head, in carrying out this general program. I think it is awfully important for the country to realize that relief -- the carrying out of the principles behind the National Recovery Act, the carrying out of public works and all of the other ramifications -- is based on a conception that is far beyond local politics or the local building up either of a political machine or a party or personal machine.

So that is one of the things you will have a hard time in fighting. I think you will be able to get the help and enthusiastic support of at least 90% of the people within your own states if that idea can be thoroughly and completely gotten across at the very inception of your work.

People are going to rush to you with all their troubles. That will relieve us in Washington very greatly.

You will require extraordinary patience and long hours -- a smile at all times -- and the carrying out of the policy of not just the Administration in a narrow sense, but the policy of what I think is the overwhelming majority of the American people today. We are all behind, with few

exceptions, this broad program. We think it has done good. We believe we are on our way. We believe it is working out pretty well in all sections of the country.

I was interested in talking yesterday to the President of one of the greatest railroads of this country. I asked him how his road was doing. His reply was that while his road was carrying more freight and more passengers, the important fact was that the freight they were carrying revealed increases in every single classification of freight. That is the best illustration of the fact that we are building up economically in every section of the country, including practically all industries.

We know the human factor which enters so largely into this picture. We are trying to apply it to all groups needing aid and assistance and not merely just a few scattered or favored groups. That is why we want from you the kind of information and kind of reports that will keep us in touch with the broad picture -- in every one of the 48 states.

I wish I could sit in with you in all the meetings you are having. When you return to your home states, you carry my very definite and distinct blessing. I hope you will not only keep Frank Walker informed, but through him, you will keep me in touch with the problems as you find

them. Let us also have any suggestions you may have to make so we can give additional help from this end whenever necessary.

It has been fine to see you. Perhaps later in the Spring, after you have been at work five or six months, we shall have another meeting in Washington.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
to the Boy Scouts of America
broadcasting a National
"Call to Service", mobilization, etc.
February 10, 1934

Fellow Scouts:

I am happy to participate in the 24th Anniversary Celebration of our organization, the Boy Scouts of America. Nearly a million of us are mobilized at this time in all parts of the country as a part of the program for this week of celebration. Home and farm patrols and troops of farm boys are joining with their brother scouts in the big cities.

In front of the City Hall in San Francisco -- and it is nine o'clock in the morning there -- thousands of scouts join with other thousands in the Hippodrome in New York in carrying on the cause of world-wide brotherhood in Scouting.

As most of you know, Scouting has been one of my active interests for many years. I have visited hundreds of Troops in their home towns and in their camps. I know, therefore, from personal experience, the things we do and stand for as Scouts. We have ideals. We are a growing organization. We believe that we are accomplishing fine American results not only for our own membership, but also for our families, our communities and our Nation.

Summed up in one sentence, the aim of Scouting is to build up better citizenship. I believe that we are contributing greatly to that objective.

I am especially happy today to extend personal greetings and congratulations to the Scouts and Leaders who have earned the President's Award for Progress in the year 1933, as a part of the Ten-Year Program. It is appropriate that we are planning for the celebration of our Silver Jubilee, the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Boy Scouts of America, which will culminate in a great national Jamboree here in the Nation's Capital in the summer of 1935. Of course, it would be physically impossible for us to have the whole membership of the Boy Scouts of America, a million strong, come to Washington at one time, but I much hope that it will be possible to have every nook and cranny of our Nation represented.

As a preliminary to our Silver Jubilee, and in line with the emphasis of service for others which we have always stressed, I suggest to you that it is time once more for us to do a National Good Turn.

As many of you know, we are doing everything possible in this emergency to help suffering humanity. I called upon the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, Mr. Harry L.

Hopkins, to tell me what kind of a National Good Turn would be of the greatest service. He has recommended that during the balance of the month of February every troop and every scout do everything possible in their separate localities to collect such household furnishings, bedding and clothes, as people may be able to share as gifts to those who greatly need them.

Therefore, I ask you, under the direction of your own local officers, and in conference with the representatives of the Federal Relief Administration and other local social agencies, to gather up such of this material as may be available for distribution.

I am confident that the American people will generously cooperate and respond. Indeed, I am hoping that in many cases they will telephone or send letters to the local Scout offices to offer their help to carry through this National Good Turn.

Already I have received offers of cooperation from Governors of States, from Mayors and other community leaders. May you carry out this new Service and rededicate yourselves to the Scout Oath.

I ask you to join with me and the Eagle Scouts and our President and Chief Scout Executive who are here with me

in the White House in giving again the Scout Oath.

All stand! Give the Scout sign! Repeat with me
the Scout Oath!

"On my honor I will do my best: To do my duty to
God and my country and to obey the Scout Law; to help other
people at all times; to keep myself physically strong, men-
tally awake, and morally straight."

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
at the Installation of Dr. Joseph M. M. Gray
as Chancellor of American University
March 3, 1934

It is very delightful to me to become today an alumnus of American University. I am honored also in the association with your new Chancellor which it affords.

It is a good thing for our American life that this University should be situated in the Capital of the country. It is good in the opportunity which it gives to higher education to come into a more intimate understanding of the problems of what we call government; it is good for government to expand its associations with the teachers and pupils of a liberal institution.

It is, of course, natural that I should take special interest in the announcement of the creation of a School of Public Affairs by American University. Many articles have been written, many speeches are being made which seek to review and to estimate the history of the United States during the past year. I am willing to hazard the guess that few of these epitomes will stress what to me stands out as one of the most salient features of a salient year in our American life.

I speak of the amazing and universal increase in

the intelligent interest which the people of the United States are taking in the whole subject of government. In cities, in hamlets and on farms men and women in their daily contacts are discussing, as never before except in time of war, the methods by which community and national problems are ordered; and war is not, in the true sense, an exception because in such case there is but a single objective.

In the broader problem of government of all kinds, local and state and federal and international, we in this country today are thinking not merely in terms of the moment, but in terms that apply to the rest of our lives and to the lives of our children. It is true that the immediate cause of this logical and deep-seated interest was a crisis -- an immediate crisis which broke over our heads a year ago. It would have been possible, perhaps, for all of us to have sought only a temporary cure for the immediate illness of the Nation. We can be thankful that we have studied and are engaged in the process of eradicating the deeper causes of that illness and of many other illnesses of the body politic.

In so doing, we need very definitely practical contacts between the collegiate and educational world and the operations of government. The development of our economic life requires the intelligent understanding of the hundreds

of complicated elements in our society. Government needs very definitely not only the sociological and economic points of view, but also the practical assistance of men and women who represent the academic, the business, and the professional elements in the community.

We need a trained personnel in government. We need disinterested, as well as broad-gauged public officials. This part of our problem we have not yet solved, but it can be solved and it can be accomplished without the creation of a national bureaucracy which would dominate the national life of our governmental system.

That is why I am especially happy in the announcement of the establishment of this School of Public Affairs. I can assure you of the hearty cooperation of the Administration. In the conduct of this school the more widely you can draw on every part of the Nation for membership of its student body, the greater will be its influence in the dissemination of knowledge of government throughout the country.

Among our Universities, you are young: you have a great future -- a great opportunity for initiative, for constructive thinking, for practical idealism and for national service.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
GENERAL CONFERENCE OF CODE AUTHORITIES
AND TRADE ASSOCIATION CODE COMMITTEES
CONSTITUTION HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 5, 1934

(The only important changes occur in the first two paragraphs and the last two paragraphs of the speech. They are as follows:)

Eight and a half months ago when I signed the bill of the Congress creating the National Industrial Recovery Commission, in signing it I said this: "Must we go on in many groping, disorganized, separate units to defeat or shall we move as one great team to victory."

That team is before me this morning, four or five thousand strong, leaders of six hundred or more organized industries representing, as measured by employment, more than ninety per cent of the industrial field which is covered by the N. R. A. Naturally I am deeply gratified that the faith which I expressed last June is so well justified in March.

(The following is to be added as a paragraph before the last paragraph:)

If the banks go along, my friends, we will

have three great elements of American life working together, industry, agriculture, and banking, and then we cannot stop.

Think back to exactly one year ago today. You know where the banks stood at that time; you know where your own business stood. That telegram from the American Banking Association is a living illustration of the progress we have made in that year. Let us consolidate our gains and let us resolve that that consolidation shall be for the continued progress and especially for the greater happiness and well being of the American people.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE OVERFLOW MEETING OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE
OF CODE AUTHORITIES AND TRADE ASSOCIATION CODE COMMITTEES
CONSTITUTION HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 5, 1934

My friends, I am glad to greet you here today.
I think you are going to have an extremely interesting
week.

I do not know whether you heard what I said
in the other hall, but I will tell you a secret: That
is the longest speech I have made in the whole of the
past year. (Applause)

However, it is in a worthy cause. I meant
every word I said and I honestly believe that what we
are doing is the finest possible thing for American in-
dustry. I know that we are going to go on and add to
the progress we have already made.

It is fine to see you and many thanks.
(Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
on arrival in Washington from his vacation in Florida
Friday, April 13, 1934

I am very glad to see you all and it is mighty good of you to come down here. I can't be truthful and say I am glad to get back -- I am awfully sorry to get back, but while I have been having a wonderful time, I gather also that both houses of Congress have been having a wonderful time in my absence. Furthermore, I expected on this trip to get some good publicity about the fish I was catching, but couldn't in view of the fact that here in Washington apparently you good people have been going from Wirt to Wirt.

The newspapermen on the train have been trying to make me say that I hope that Congress would go home very soon. I wouldn't say it because I hope you will stay here just as long as you like to. For you younger Members of both Houses -- speaking from an experience of many years in Washington -- I want to point out to you the advantages of the Washington climate in July and August. It rarely gets over 110 here -- there is no humidity and I don't mind if I stay here all Summer.

Well, anyway I wish you had had the chance I had to get away for two weeks because I did have a wonderful Holiday and I have come back with all sorts of new lessons

which I learned from barracuda and sharks. I am a tough guy. So, if you will come down and see me as often as you possibly can, I will teach you some of the stunts I learned.

It's fine to see you; many thanks, and I will see you all soon.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
during the Reception of the Texas
"Jamboree" Delegation at the White House
April 17, 1934

I am very, very appreciative, and you know I sometimes think the feeling in Washington is that Texas is not only the largest State in the Union, but that it is running the Government of the United States more largely than any other State.

I can go to the Bahamas fishing and the Vice President just carries on the Government 100% during my absence.

And, in addition to that, all of the purse strings of the Government apparently are in the righthand pocket of Jesse Jones.

Besides that, I do want to say that I am very happy because of the splendid delegation Texas has in both Houses of Congress. As you know, Senator Sheppard and my old friend Tom Connally, are among my oldest and warmest friends and supporters. I am tremendously pleased with them. Also, in the House -- although there are occasional lapses -- taking it by and large, we get on mighty well, and I think we are going to get on increasingly well.

I hope next year to go down and try to prove out some of these fishing stories.

John Garner compels me to stretch my imagination a bit, but he has taught me how to tell fish stories. I hope next year to be able to visit Texas and stay with John. I propose to make him prove those stories to me.

I think it is a fine thing you are doing. I wish you could get around to every State of the Union -- spending a year on the road selling Texas. You don't have to sell Texas to me.

It is mighty fine to see you and this flag is going in my own study at the White House, and I will be very proud to have it there beside the National Ensign, my own flag as President, and my flag as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Thanks very much.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
FOLLOWING HIS VISIT TO THE HOME SUBSISTENCE EXHIBITION
AUDITORIUM OF THE COMMERCE BUILDING

April 24, 1934

(Mrs. Roosevelt and a number of the Members
of the Cabinet were present.)

Ladies and gentlemen:

It would have been a great deal better if Harry Hopkins, Harold Ickes and some of the others had spoken first because at least I could have had a cue. The only cue I have had this afternoon was a baseball game that was called on account of rain.

This particular subject that we are here today to talk about and to visualize happens to be one of my own pet children. It goes back in my own life a great many years. I think it goes back, so far as I am concerned, to a privilege that I once had. It was the privilege of running for Vice President and being defeated.

It is a privilege for this reason: During three months in the year 1920 I think I spent eighty-nine out of ninety-two days on a sleeping car. I went to forty-two states in the Union. I drove literally thousands of miles by automobile and I got to know the country as only a candidate for national office or a

travelling salesman can get to know it.

In that trip, the one great impression I got of our country was that it had grown up like Topsy without any particular planning. People over a period of three hundred years had been wandering around from one section to another, opening up new territory, starting new industries, haphazardly.

And because the country was so vast, during nearly all of those three hundred years nobody seemed to suffer very much because there were plenty of new opportunities in the way of new land and new industries that were available for generation after generation of our forebears. But as I went over the country I became impressed with the fact that in these latter days we had come, to a certain extent, to the end of that limitless opportunity of new places to go to and new sources of wealth to tap, of new industries to start almost anywhere, and new land to take up and that the time was ripe, even overripe, for the beginning of planning, planning to prevent in the future the errors of the past and planning to carry through in the future certain perfectly obvious economic and social needs that

were new to the country.

Then, later on, eight years later, I had the opportunity in the most populous state of the Union, a state which, after all, while we think of it sometimes as the site of the largest city in the country, at the same time is a state that ranks about fifth among all the forty-eight states in its agricultural wealth. We found in the state of New York that there was no planning and we began to visualize the fact that every acre of the thirty million acres within our borders was fit for something, that it ought to be used for some definite purpose and that it ought not to be used for a wrong purpose.

So, after somewhat of a tussle with the Legislature that did not understand what it was all about, after two years we persuaded the Legislature to make, to initiate a survey of every one of the thirty million acres in the state. As a result of that survey, which is still in progress and will take another four or five years to complete, we shall know in at least one state of the Union what every acre is most suited for.

At the same time, in making this survey, it was just as easy to make it a survey of human and social needs as it was to make it a survey of merely soil and trees and streams.

And we found, as you found in every state of the Union, little pockets of humanity, where the people came from good, sound stock, but where they never had had the opportunity of making good, the opportunity that their brothers and sisters in other communities that were more on the highways of commerce had and were using to the utmost.

These people off in the pockets of our States had never had a chance and so we undertook to find out who the people were that had not had a chance and then we came to another class of people, people in communities that were on the highways of traffic and of commerce and of social intercourse, but who had, for one reason or another, got stranded. They were in communities that had been prosperous a generation ago because of some specialty, because of some factory or industry which had either gone out of business or had been put out of the running through increased competition. There were hundreds and thousands of families in these stranded communities that had no opportunity again of living the right kind of modern, American life.

Now, that is just the story of one state and there are forty-eight of them. While we, as good Democrats, believe in the development of things by states,

nevertheless it is sometimes a very good thing to have some father and mother of the forty-eight states who will be able to tie in various suggestions, find the facts and lead in the development that is so necessary in our social and economic progress. That is why I am so very glad to see a number of the ladies and gentlemen from the Hill, as we call it here, because I am very certain that they appreciate that these great problems go beyond state lines and that national planning must be carried out.

I was told a few minutes ago that Henry Ford was asked what he thought of this great movement for what we call Subsistence Homestead, and he said, "It must be good because I could never make a success of it." And that is perfectly true. We are starting something absolutely new, something in which we have very little of experience to fall back on, something that has got to be developed through what I call evolution. When people talk to you about the word "revolution" in this country, you tell them that they have one letter too many in that word.

I say it is evolution because of this simple fact: I live in two states, in the country in New York and the country in Georgia. You cannot possibly make a

plan along the lines that we are making for the big objectives for the state of New York that would apply in Georgia, or vice versa. There are all kinds of planning, not just forty-eight plans, but probably a hundred of them, all of which should be tried out, some of which will succeed and others of which will fail.

By this system of trial and error we will evolve in this country, without any question, half dozen or a dozen methods of taking care of our stranded, under-privileged families and give them a chance to make good in a new environment. We will be able undoubtedly, by using a little gray matter -- brain trust or otherwise -- to discover a whole lot of new things that communities can do. Dr. Morgan, the Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, was talking to me this morning, and he said, "Let me give you an example. This does not apply to the Tennessee Valley Authority any more than it does to a great many other parts of the country that we have no jurisdiction over. There are certain sections in that Tennessee Valley where we can grow sweet potatoes which would be the finest in the world. But there is a limit to the sweet potatoes that people can eat. You cannot

eat them three meals a day every day in the year and continue to be healthy, so there is a limit to the amount that can be produced for that purpose. But we are seeking things to make that we can sell; we are seeking a greater business; we are seeking things that will bring in cash.

"Somebody, the other day, put his mind to work on this subject and discovered that laundry starch, made out of the sweet potato, is the best starch in the world and actually, today, we are importing the major part of our laundry starch from other countries."

Now, I am very much in favor of increasing both our exports and our imports, but I can go so far as to say that if we can develop a laundry starch business through the use of sweet potatoes and help those people and a great many others throughout the country where sweet potatoes are grown, it will be well worth while to make our own laundry starch instead of importing it from the outside. Now, that is a discovery three days old and every day that goes by somebody is inventing something, not a patentable invention, but finds some new outlet for the smaller communities in the country.

We have been talking about this tremendous development of our forests and we are going to buy, we are in the process of buying, twenty-five million dollars worth of forest areas to add to this great Government domain on national parks and forests. What are we going to do with it? There are a great many people who live on this land that the Government is going to buy. Are we just going to move them out and add to the congestion in other communities? Well, some of them may want to go out and if they want to go out, it is all right. But, after all, forestry is not merely the acquisition of land that has trees on it and the maintenance of that land in a state of nature for a thousand years to come. The land ought to be used. The trees ought to be used. Certain areas, of course, should be applied to public recreational purposes, but the other areas, the tree crop, should be used just as much as a crop of corn or wheat. It takes longer to grow, but that is the only difference.

There are other countries in the world that have scientific forestry in actual operation, countries whose civilizations go back three thousand instead of three hundred years. Every year they know that they have a perfectly

definite yield of timber, an annual crop. Well, what do they do in their forest areas? In a great many of those forest areas in Europe, populations are maintained which use the bottom land for the growing of their food supplies and which are guaranteed -- let us say that one member of every family in those forests is guaranteed a certain number of months of work in those forests by the state which owns the forest. Now, that is not driving people out of the forests; it is keeping people in the forests in an orderly way with an assurance of making an honest livelihood, of never starving and of having the opportunities of modern civilization.

Now I have said that this was evolution and experimental and I hope you people from the Congress who are here will realize that in these many, many experiments that we are going to try, several hundred of them all over the United States, some of them are going to work, most of them we hope are going to work, but some are not going to work because we have to discover as we go along which is the right way and which is the wrong way.

But, taking it by and large, it is going to be

an experiment from the dollars and cents point of view which is going to be far less costly to the taxpayer of the United States over a period of years than merely handing out money for relief purposes.

If, for example, we have a family that is unemployed in a city and that family requires relief in one form or another, for rent, for food and for clothes, say a bare minimum of five or six hundred dollars a year, and that family does not stand any chance of getting employment in the next five years or ten years, isn't it a whole lot cheaper for us to pay twelve hundred dollars or fifteen hundred dollars and make that family self-sustaining somewhere at the cost of two years of relief money? In other words, in one case you are making a permanent solution and in another case you are just carrying out the obligations of the Government year after year to see to it that the family does not starve.

I don't see why there is not greater enthusiasm for planning, except this: That the very word planning does not contain anything very spectacular about it and because it takes a good many years to see results. We are all very apt to go after the things in this life

that we can all throw up our hats and cheer about. We are very apt to favor the panaceas, suggested pieces of legislation which would cure all of our troubles in thirty days. I won't specify which they are, but we are lazy. We don't like to think ahead. And yet, it is the only solution! We have got to think ahead and I believe that more and more, learning as we go along, we are going to come to the conclusion that a very large proportion of our population is out of balance, that it is in the wrong place and that it is doing the wrong things.

Now, lest some of our friends cry, "regimentation", let me make it perfectly clear that we are not going to take people by force, against their wills, out of one occupation and put them in another, or take them out of one community and transplant them to another. We believe we can make this whole program so attractive and practical that we are going to find a great many more volunteers than we can possibly take care of. Just a year and a month ago we started an experiment called the Civilian Conservation Corps and there were a lot of Doubting Thomases. They said, "These boys from the cities, they do not want to go to camp. They do not want to

go and live in tents. They never saw an axe. They don't know anything about woods. What is more, they don't care anything about it. Three hundred thousand boys, why it is absurd! You cannot get them to go and if you do, they will run away the first night they are in camp." I said, "All right, let us try it." So we tried it. Well, what is the answer? Today, if we had the money in this country and if Congress would appropriate it, we would get a million boys to respond tomorrow to go to the Civilian Conservation Camps. (Applause)

The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and there is only one objection I have got to this whole program and that is the name, "subsistence". A great many years ago, during the War, I was in England and Lloyd George was asking me how this country was getting on, and I said, "We are learning the meaning of the word 'cooperation'", and he said, "Mr. Secretary, I wish that in addition to learning the meaning of that word, I wish you inventive Americans would invent a new word for 'cooperation'." In the same way, I wish we could invent a new term to take the place of "subsistence". This work we are doing is not a matter of mere subsistence. Subsistence

is just the fact of being alive and we want something more for those families that we are going to give an opportunity to than that. And so I am going to put it up to you good people and if you have any ideas or any thoughts of new language to take the place of the words "subsistence farm" or "subsistence homestead", I am quite certain that the Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture or the Administrator of Emergency Relief would be delighted to offer a prize for the winning name.

"Subsistence" does not connote the thought that any of us have in mind. It is not a question of keeping people from starvation. It is a matter that affects education, social contacts, a chance to live. It is the thing that we have called "the more abundant life" and even if it costs a little more money to see that these communities have American facilities in them, this Government is rich enough to provide the additional funds.

(Applause)

I had not meant to speak for more than three minutes, but this is, as I said before, one of my particular pet children, and I hope very much that you will act not merely as personally interested parties, but that

you, who are gathered here today, will go to every section of the United States, every state, every Congressional district, and explain what this is all about.

The great advantage of this from the political point of view is the fact that it affects every Congressional district, the country Congressional districts and the city Congressional districts; it hits them all right squarely between the eyes.

If we look at this from the broad national point of view, I believe we are going to make it a practical national policy of our Government that will take fifty years before we get through with it.

And so, my friends, I am going around now to look at some of the exhibits. I am already familiar with most of them. I can tell you this: That everything that is done along these lines not only has my official interest but my very deep personal interest, and I hope you will keep me in touch with the actual progress of the work we are undertaking. (Applause)

(It will be noted that on page 5 the President quoted from Henry Ford. Following his speech I was told by one of the officials who had evidently carried it to the President that the exact quotation is, "I am cocksure this thing is right because I myself have found it so difficult to do.")

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
at the Dedication of the Bryan Memorial
May 3, 1934, 4.45 P.M.

This memorial to William Jennings Bryan, erected pursuant to authorization by a joint resolution of the Congress, I gladly accept on behalf of the United States.

Our Nation thus recognizes through its Government the essential qualities and the high services of a great American.

No selfish motive touched his public life; he held important office only as a sacred trust of honor from his country; and when he sought a mandate from his fellow citizens the soul of his inspiration was the furtherance of their interests, not his own, not of a group, but of all. No man of his time was or could have been more constantly in the limelight than he; yet we can look back and scan his record without being able to point to any instance where he took a position that did not accord with his conscience or his belief.

To Secretary Bryan political courage was not a virtue to be sought or attained, for it was an inherent part of the man. He chose his path not to win acclaim but rather because that path appeared clear to him from his inmost beliefs.

He did not have to dare to do what to him seemed right; he could not do otherwise.

It was my privilege to know William Jennings Bryan when I was a very young man. Years later both of us came to the Nation's Capital to serve under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson. Through this service and the intimate relations which ensued, I learned to know and to love him.

As we look back on those days -- the many of us who are gathered here together who were his friends and associates in the Wilson Administration -- I think that we would choose the word "sincerity" as fitting him most of all. It was that sincerity which brought to him the millions of devoted followers; it was that sincerity which served him so well in his lifelong fight against sham and privilege and wrong. It was that sincerity which made him a force for good in his own generation and has kept alive many of the ancient faiths on which we are building today.

It was Mr. Bryan who said:

"I respect the aristocracy of learning. I deplore the plutocracy of wealth but I thank God for the democracy of the heart."

Many years ago he also said:

"You may dispute over whether I have fought a good fight; you may dispute over whether I have finished my course; but you cannot deny that I have kept the faith."

We who are assembled here today to accept this memorial in the Capital of the Republic can well agree that he fought a good fight; that he finished his course and that he kept the faith.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORENEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
as he received and turned over to the
Georgia Warm Springs Foundation the
check for more than \$1,000,000 contrib-
uted to further infantile paralysis work
by that Institution.

May 9, 1934

The Birthday Ball initiated by your committee for
the creation of a fund to further the infantile paralysis
work of the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation gave me a most
happy anniversary last January. I continue to get much gen-
uine satisfaction from this generous action and the wonder-
ful response which was given to your suggestion. In accept-
ing this million dollar check, I want again to express my
heartfelt appreciation to all who participated.

The Trustees of the Foundation naturally have given
much thought to the proper discharge of the responsibility
which you impose on them through this presentation. They
have reviewed the work of the Foundation and considered with
me the ways and means by which it can be most useful in the
future through the added impetus of the fund which you now
make available. The plan for utilizing your gift, which I
shall outline to you, is based on a realization of the scope
of the problem created by a disease which alone accounts for
one-third of those people, children and adults, in our coun-
try who are crippled from any cause other than injury in
accidents.

There are no complete statistics to show just what infantile paralysis has done to our people, but it seems conservative to estimate from figures that we have, that there are at least two hundred thousand people in the United States who bear the marks of it in degrees ranging from the impairment of a few muscles to being reduced to total physical helplessness. A large proportion of this great number, to which new victims are added annually, need after-treatment and care for long periods of time. Treatment cannot be measured in terms of days and weeks but must be computed in months and years. To take care of this number on a hospital basis would require very large sums of money to be expended through many institutions.

This care following the acute stage of the disease and after the damage has been done falls within a highly specialized branch of medicine -- namely, orthopaedics -- which requires painstaking, accurate work. It is time-consuming effort to such a degree as to make it economically unwise and practically impossible to concentrate really large numbers of infantile paralysis patients in any one place. It is of course clear that no one orthopaedic institution can make a dent in the national problem. Only by coordinating the efforts of all these institutions can we hope for real

progress toward doing the utmost for the many thousands of victims of infantile paralysis.

Let me pause here to say that the communications which have come to us from all parts of the country since the Birthday Ball have made it more than ever apparent that there is a shortage of properly financed orthopaedic beds in many, indeed most sections of the country. They have also indicated to us that as a result of the new interest built up by your suggestion of a Birthday Ball, at least some of these institutions have received greater local assistance. This work is worthy of enthusiastic and sustained local support.

Modern medical science has advanced so far that a very large proportion of those who for one reason or another have become crippled can be restored to useful citizenship. It remains, therefore, only to spread the gospel in every part of the Nation to enable us to make the same relative progress that we have already made in the field of tuberculosis.

Where does the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation fit into this whole fight against infantile paralysis? Seven years ago we started at Warm Springs, Georgia an institution to devote its energies to the after-treatment of infantile

paralysis. As an institution it has done a modest amount of work. Probably other institutions have rendered treatment to an equal or greater number of infantile paralysis patients as a part of their general work. The work at Warm Springs, however, and the interest in it have resulted in welding together a great band of Americans with a new awareness of the medical, social and economic problems created by this dread disease and with an increased willingness to give more of themselves to the support of those agencies through which the crippled may be benefited.

Thus the Foundation has become more than an institution for the treatment of a limited number of patients. It has become also in effect an organization of those interested in lending their influence and support to the reconstructive work which must be done everywhere in the wake of infantile paralysis. I am not sure but in its final effect this good fortune of the Foundation in interesting so many new friends in the general cause is going to be of even greater importance than its actual work at Warm Springs. The force of and help from an enlightened opinion is what the professional workers need to win such a wide-spread battle.

With this larger view in mind the Trustees of the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation will establish on terms and

conditions to be defined by them the following funds from the gift which you bring today:

- I. A \$100,000 fund to stimulate and further the meritorious work being done in the field of infantile paralysis. It is the present intention that this fund will be used in connection with work done elsewhere than at Warm Springs so that the greatest encouragement may be given to others interested in this problem.
- II. A \$650,000 fund for the furtherance of the present work done by the Foundation's institution at Warm Springs, Georgia, and as I have indicated, enabling it to help coordinate the efforts of all engaged in this work, the details, of course, to be worked out by the Trustees. I have no doubt that such coordination and correlation will be of the greatest value. For instance, there can be no doubt that great good will come from any system which permits not only of the exchange of data and information, but also of doctors, physio-therapists, and visiting nurses, to the end that the best types of care developed anywhere will become the common knowledge and practice of all.

III. A fund of \$253,030.08 for building, maintenance and contingencies of the Foundation.

I, therefore, now give to the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation through its treasurer this sum of one million three thousand thirty dollars and eight cents with which to create the three funds just described and totaling this amount, the income or principal of those funds to be used for the purposes indicated. Of course no part of this fund will be used to repay any advances made to the Foundation by any of its officers or trustees.

Once again I thank you and through you all those who have made possible this splendid gift.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
at the Commemoration Ceremony in
honor of the One Hundredth Anniversary
of the Death of
Gilbert du Motier Marquis de LaFayette
May 20, 1934

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ambassador, Mem-
bers of Congress, Gentlemen of the Supreme Court, my friends:

A century ago President Andrew Jackson, in communi-
cating the melancholy news of the death of LaFayette to the
Congress of the United States, called it "afflicting intelli-
gence". And so it was. It made more than one nation mourn,
none more than our own. The Marquis de LaFayette was referred
to in a General Order to our Army and Navy as "the distin-
guished friend of the United States"; and the Congress, with
rare felicity, added to this the phrase, "the friend of Wash-
ington, and the friend of liberty."

In this three-fold role of friendship we the people
of this Nation have enshrined him in our hearts, and today we
cherish his memory above that of any citizen of a foreign
country. It is as one of our Nation's peerless heroes that
we hail him, just as his beloved France enshrined him in the
Pantheon of her immortal sons.

Many generations later, more than two million Amer-
ican boys, backed by the solidarity of a great Nation, went

to France. Those soldiers and sailors were repaying the debt of gratitude we owe to LaFayette and at the same time they were seeking to preserve those fundamentals of liberty and democracy to which in a previous age he had dedicated his life.

There is no higher tribute we can pay to his memory than this we pay today. In communicating his death to the Nation, President Jackson ordered that "the same honors be rendered him as were observed upon the decease of Washington." Jackson was moved by the tenderness of a personal friendship -- moved, as he said, "by personal as by public considerations" to direct that every honor be paid "the last Major General of the Revolutionary Army."

We know the exquisite relationship which existed between Washington and LaFayette, and I am indeed pleased that the Ambassador of the French Republic has referred to this friendship. It was that of father and son. For the great Virginian the Frenchman had a veneration and love which approached homage. To him Washington was an ideal -- almost more than human.

With Andrew Jackson, the friendship bore perhaps a more personal and intimate cast, because the two were more of an age. Both were mere youngsters at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Jackson, a boy of ten in 1777, first saw

LaFayette when he landed in Charleston and before he started northward to meet the Congress. The sight of the gallant young Frenchman was so deeply engraved in the heart of Andrew Jackson that half a century later it was as vivid as the day it was etched. Jackson himself, even in boyhood, was to contribute his mite "to shake off the yoke of tyranny, and to build up the fabric of free government." And when LaFayette visited our shores again in 1824, Jackson wrote him a pean of welcome, in which he referred to the state of his "own youthful feelings" on the occasion of that first visit. His coming then, he said, "aroused every patriot from a state of despair to that of confidence in our bleeding cause, while the shout of victory or death was sung through the welkin. It inspired an enthusiasm becoming the people who had resolved to be free."

When they met here in Washington LaFayette said this to the Hero of New Orleans, "Had you witnessed my anxiety, when on a sudden all Europe was pacified, and the flower of the British Army were on their way to Louisiana, you would still better judge what I felt of relief, joy and pride on receiving the glorious account of your victory. I have long anticipated the pleasure to take you by the hand, and whatever be your future movements I will not leave the

United States before I have seeked and found opportunity to express in person my high regard and sincere friendship."

This first meeting was as simple and genuine as their natures. Jackson had come to Washington for the session of the Congress, as Senator from Tennessee. He put up with his old friend, John Gadsby, at the Franklin House; and immediately learned that LaFayette was a guest in the same Inn. The Mayor of Washington had informed the President of the United States that "the friend of the people (LaFayette) must be the guest of the people, and could not stay at the White House."

It was a memorable Congress that year, the last to elect a President of the United States, and Andrew Jackson was in the thick of the storm. The two old soldiers saw much of each other during that long winter and as a member of the Senate Jackson took part in all the ceremonies held in honor of the French patriot.

It stands on the record of the day that "LaFayette was the only man who ever was, in his personal capacity, publicly received by the Senate of the United States." The record shows that they received him "as a brother, rather than a stranger, as one of a loving family, come from a distant shore, after a long and weary absence, to revisit the friends of his youth."

Senator Barbour of Virginia presented him. The President and the Senators rose from their seats, uncovered, and the General, advancing toward the Chair of the Senate, was invited to take a seat prepared for him on the right of the Chair. The Senate then was adjourned, the while the Senators flocked about their guest and gave him a warmhearted welcome.

It was given to the House of Representatives to extend the welcome of the Nation. Exactly such an assembly as this now before me met in the Hall of Representatives, every branch of the Government fully in attendance. Henry Clay, the Speaker, in expressing what was in the hearts of the people, said, "the vain wish has sometimes been indulged that Providence would allow the patriot, after death, to return to his country, and to contemplate the immediate changes which had taken place." To LaFayette had come, he said, "the realization of the consoling object of that wish."

"General, you are in the midst of posterity."

"No, Mr. Speaker," replied LaFayette, "posterity has not begun for me since, in the sons of my companions and friends, I find the same public feelings in my behalf which I have had the happiness to experience in their fathers."

I like to remember also the picture of the visit

of General LaFayette to General Jackson at the Hermitage. When LaFayette landed at Nashville, the people stood far back and let Jackson go forward alone to greet him and to welcome him as his feet touched the shore.

At the official welcome of the State of Tennessee, a group of Revolutionary soldiers, some thirty or forty officers and men, stepped forward to greet the old patriot. He saluted each of them with animation and affection. Suddenly his eye fell on one whom he had known in France, who had come with him to America and had been at his side during the Revolution. This worn and wearied old soldier had ridden one hundred miles to see his old General, and when they met they fell into each other's arms, kissed each other as only Frenchmen can perform that act of devotion, and sobbed aloud.

The next day Jackson entertained him at the Hermitage. The people seemed to sense that history was being made and left them much to themselves. They talked about the French and American Revolutions, and much about Napoleon. Jackson took pride in showing him over the house he had built for his beloved wife. He produced a box of pistols, and opening it, asked LaFayette if he knew whose pistols they were. "Yes," said LaFayette, "they are the ones I gave to General

Washington in 1778, and," he added, "I feel a real satisfaction in finding them in the hands of a man so worthy of such a heritage."

Today I have brought to show to the Congress of the United States another link between LaFayette and our country -- a sword which has never yet been shown to the American people.

After the termination of the World War and the re-occupation of Alsace by the French, this sword was rediscovered. Its history is this: Shortly before the death of Washington his old companions in arms -- those gallant Frenchmen who had taken part in our War of the Revolution -- joined together and had this sword made by special order to be presented to their former Commander-in-Chief.

Before the presentation could be made, Washington died, and 133 years later, through the fine courtesy and feeling of the present Government of France, the sword was brought to America by a distinguished descendant of General LaFayette and presented to the present President of the United States. This sword rests and will rest for all time below the portrait of President Washington in the White House.

I like to associate LaFayette and Jackson. LaFayette's last letter to Jackson was an appeal for help from Congress for the family of a brave Frenchman who had served in our

Revolutionary War. His last thoughts were of Congress and of Jackson. He instructed his son to send to Jackson, for transmittal to the Congress, "a copper plate on which was inscribed the first engraved copy of the American Declaration of Independence to be deposited in their Library as a last tribute of respect, patriotic love and affection for his adopted country."

It is a singular coincidence that Jackson's mind many years later turned to LaFayette in his last hours. When Jackson's will, signed with his palsied hand, was opened, it was found that he had bequeathed to George Washington LaFayette "the pistols of General LaFayette which were presented by him to General George Washington, and by Colonel William Robertson presented to me." These he desired sent to the son of his old friend, as his will declared, "as a memento of the illustrious personages through whose hands they have passed, his father, and the Father of his country."

Mr. Ambassador, I trust that you will inform our good friend, the President of the French Republic, the Government of France, and through them the people of France, that on this Hundredth Anniversary of the death of Gilbert du Motier Marquis de LaFayette we, the representatives of the people of the United States, have assembled once more to do honor to the friend of America.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA
May 30, 1934

Governor Pinchot, Mr. Chairman, my friends:

What a glorious day this is. I rejoice in it and I rejoice in this splendid celebration of it. I am especially happy to stand here on the field of Gettysburg at the side of a man, who, through all his life, has so splendidly served the cause of progressive government and the cause of humanity, Gifford Pinchot, Governor of Pennsylvania. (Applause)

(The foregoing paragraph was extemporaneous and not included in the printed release to the Press.)

On these hills of Gettysburg two brave armies of Americans once met in (combat) contest. Not far from here, in a valley likewise consecrated to American valor, a ragged Continental Army survived a bitter winter to keep alive the expiring hope of a new Nation; and near to this battlefield and that valley stands that invincible city where the Declaration of Independence was born and the Constitution of the United States was written by the fathers. Surely, as Congressman Haynes has said, (all) this is holy ground.

It was in Philadelphia, too, that Washington spoke his solemn, tender, wise words of farewell -- a farewell not alone to his generation, but to the generation of those who laid down their lives here and to our generation and to the America of tomorrow. Perhaps if our fathers and grandfathers had truly heeded those words we should have had no family quarrel, no battle of Gettysburg, no Appomattox.

As a Virginian, President Washington had a natural pride in Virginia; but as an American, in his stately phrase, "the name of American, which belongs to you, in your National capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discrimination."

Recognizing the strength of local and State and sectional prejudices and how strong they might grow to be, and how they might take from the National Government some of the loyalty the citizens owed to it, he made three historic tours during his Presidency. One was through New England in 1789, another through the Northern States in 1790, and still another through the Southern States in 1791. He did this, as he said, -- and the words sound good nearly a century and a half later -- "In order to

become better acquainted with their principal characters and internal circumstances, as well as to be more accessible to numbers of well informed persons who might give him useful advices on political subjects."

But Washington (he) did more to stimulate patriotism than merely to travel and mingle with the people. He knew that Nations grow as their commerce and manufactures and agriculture grow, and that all of these grow as the means of transportation are extended. He sought to knit the sections together by their common interest in these great enterprises; and he projected highways and canals as aids not to sectional, but to national development.

But the Nation expanded geographically after the death of Washington far more rapidly than the Nation's means of inter-communication. The small national area of 1789 grew to the great expanse of the Nation of 1860. Even in terms of the crude transportation of that day, the first thirteen states were still within "driving distance" of each other.

With the settling and the peopling of the Continent to the shores of the Pacific, there developed the

problem of self-contained territories because the Nation's expansion exceeded its development of means of transportation, as we learn from our history books. The early building of railroads did not proceed on national lines.

Contrary to belief of some of us Northerners, the South and the West were not laggard in developing this new form of transportation; but (there), as in the East, most of the railroads were local and sectional. It was a chartless procedure; people were not thinking in terms of national transportation or national communication. In the days before the Brothers' War not a single line of railroad was projected from the South to the North; not even one from the South reached to the National Capital itself.

In those days, it was an inspired Prophet of the South who said: "My brethren, if we know one another, we will love one another." The tragedy of the Nation was that the people did not know one another because they had not the necessary means of visiting one another.

Since those days, two subsequent wars, both with foreign Nations, have measurably allayed and softened the ancient passions. It has been left to us of this generation to see the healing made permanent.

We are all brothers now, brothers in a new

understanding. The grain farmers of the West and in the fertile fields of Pennsylvania do not set themselves up for preference if we seek at the same time to help the cotton farmers of the South; nor do the tobacco growers complain of discrimination if, at the same time, we help the cattle men of the plains and mountains.

In our planning to lift industry to normal prosperity, the farmer upholds our efforts. And as we seek to give the farmers of the United States a long sought equality, the city worker understands and helps. All of us, among all the States, share in whatever of good comes to the average man. We know that we all have a stake --- a partnership in this (the) Government of this, our country.

Today, we have many means of knowing each other -- means that at last have sounded the doom of sectionalism. It is, I think, as I survey the picture from every angle, a simple fact that the chief hindrance to progress comes from three elements which, thank God, grow less in importance with the growth of a clearer understanding of our purposes on the part of the overwhelming majority. These groups are those who seek to stir up political animosity or to build political advantage by the distortion of facts;

those who, by declining to follow the rules of the game, seek to gain an unfair advantage over those who are willing to live up to the rules of the game, (applause) and those few who, (still) because they have never been willing to take an interest in their fellow Americans, dwell inside of their own narrow spheres and still represent the selfishness of sectionalism which has no place in our National life. (Applause)

Washington and Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson (applause) sought and worked for a consolidated Nation. You and I have it in our power to attain that great ideal within our lifetime. We can do this by following the peaceful methods prescribed under the broad and resilient provisions of the Constitution of the United States. (Applause)

Here, here at Gettysburg, here in the presence of the spirits of those who fell on this ground, we give renewed assurance that the passions of war are mouldering in the tombs of Time and the purposes of peace are flowing today in the hearts of a united people. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
GROTON SCHOOL, GROTON, MASSACHUSETTS
June 2, 1934

(Your stenographer was instructed, because of conditions imposed by the Headmaster, not to take a position in the Dining Hall where the President was to speak, from which he could infer that he was not to take the President's remarks. It seemed to be the feeling that the President had come not as President but as an alumnus, and none of the atmosphere of his office was to attach itself to the ceremonies incident to Prize Day at Groton.

(The following omits the opening of the speech and there are gaps due to the impossibility of hearing the President above the conversation of those in the immediate vicinity of the stenographer.)

..... because we are still all Groton boys and I don't think we will ever grow up in regard to Groton.

Mr. Peabody has kept this School in touch with the changing events of time and today it stands not only for educational service but, in our general American life, the School represents the best of civilization as it is today. But, with it all, these boys coming out from school this year are carrying with them the same thing that we carried with us thirty and forty years ago.

We have learned something more than mere education, we have learned, I think, in this School to keep on

learning, to adapt ourselves, to seize our opportunities as we go through life to meet the great changes that are taking place from day to day. And all through life, one has the feeling that if he could only apply even in some small measure the teachings of Groton, he will be able at least to live up to what the School would have him do.

We know today, no matter what walk of life we live in and no matter what part of the world we live in, that there have been economic changes and social changes taking place. I believe that in the family of Groton graduates there is a larger fertility, a greater ability to learn those things and to adapt themselves to the changing conditions and yet to keep on playing according to the rules of the game.

After all, one of the things we got out of the School was to learn to play the game according to the rules and perhaps, in these later days, some of us have come to realize that a very large number of millions of people have been compelled to play a game of life without many rules, a game in which there was selfishness, in which there was opportunity taken not to break the rules of that game but to let down on one's own code of rules

so that selfish advantage might be taken of those who could not fight back.

So, because of this, we are beginning to ask not just schools or universities or professions to play the game of life according to rules, but we are asking a great Nation to adopt some of the rules that are based, in their fundamentals, on the teachings of Groton.

Now, they are not the kind of rules which are imposed, because in the world, as in Groton, the rules are not made just by a Headmaster, whether it be Mr. Peabody or President Roosevelt. The rules that grow up as a result of experience do not come from just getting one team together and laying down rules; they come because we get all the teams and all the coaches to put their heads together and evolve some kind of rules that will work for the general good. That is what we are trying to do today. (Applause)

..... Let me tell you a little story. When I went down to Warm Springs last Fall, a very good friend of mine who happens to own a great many cotton mills, a splendid man, came to see me. He told me how things were, in general, and then he said, "I want you to come over

and see what has happened in the past few months." I said, "Yes, what is it?" "Well," he said, "come over and see what they do with the first Saturday holidays they have ever had." Now, this is what happened to a cotton mill down in the South, a cotton mill that employed a population of fifteen or twenty thousand people, most of them the same kind of English stock which settled the Nation. And they were people who did not have even the fundamentals of education, people who had never been outside of their own hometown, people who did not know what play was. After a certain event took place, in that particular industry they were put on a five-day week and within two weeks a committee of the employees came to this friend of mine and said, "What will we do with our Saturdays; we have never had Saturdays off before? Do you think we can start what they call 'athletics'?" My friend said, "Yes". It turned out that they did not know how to play games, they had to learn. They learned how to play football and baseball and to swim. Everybody in the town became athletically minded and it became necessary to provide equipment and places for them to play. Then, one Sunday

morning after services, the Pastor said, "Wait a minute, don't go. How many people in the congregation have ever seen a steamship?" It developed that virtually none of them had ever seen the ocean or had ever taken a swim in salt water or been in a speed boat. So the next Saturday they got in a train, two hundred strong, and went to Savannah and went swimming and saw the sights.

They have built two more schools because so many children had been let out of the mills that they had to provide schools for them. (Applause)

Then we have the other side of the picture. Last year we were getting a great many reports as to conditions. They were coming in from time to time. We heard, for example, of families living in abandoned coal mines and in coke ovens, families of men who had been working for the coal companies and the steel companies and who had been thrown out of employment because of the lack of work. One of my friends happens to be the head of a great steel company and when I told him what I knew about this, about what was going on, he went down there on the first train he could get and changed the conditions.

From the standpoint of people in every walk of

life, whether they be engaged in the largest form of business or the smallest form of business, whether they be people on a farm or people in a profession, I believe very firmly that we are entering into a period where we can ask this whole Nation to live up to the simple rules of life, the rules of the game that we were told about and taught in this School many years ago.

And so, on this Fiftieth Anniversary of Groton School, I have come back to renew my faith, because I believe my faith, my faith in God and my faith in my country, comes most of all from having been here at School under Mr. and Mrs. Peabody. (Applause)

And so, Mr. and Mrs. Peabody, I am merely going to say that we graduates and masters of Groton through all these years have come back to greet you, to greet you two who have helped us so greatly to live. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
Wednesday, June 20, 1934

President Angell and fellow Elies:

I don't believe that any higher academic honor can possibly come to any Harvard graduate than to be made an alumnus of Yale.

I am especially happy because this cements more closely a bond which I have had for many long years with a great number of Yale graduates who have worked with me on many kinds of tasks and in many places. Today in Washington I count very heavily on the splendid assistance that is given to me by Yale graduates in every department of the Government. We have not yet come to the point of placing universities under the code system. There have been suggestions to that effect, as, for instance, not long ago when some of my friends of Harvard suggested that something should be done to correct the unfair trade practice when a certain sacred Ibis disappeared from the Harvard Lampoon office, and again a suggestion was made when a certain pet bulldog disappeared from New Haven.

It was suggested this morning by the Public Orator that Congress will do almost anything I want. But the

dear, good Congress almost prevented me from being with you today. Last night, when I got aboard the train, I felt just like a schoolboy out of school, yet here I am, back in academic surroundings. However, I did want to tell you of my appreciation of being able to work through these years with Yale men, and I want to tell you also very simply of my thought that while there has been a certain amount of ribald laughter about the use of brains in the national government, it seems to be a pretty good practice -- a practice which will continue -- this practice of calling on trained people for tasks that require trained people. Today, more than ever before in our public life, it is true that we are calling on the teaching profession, on the graduates of scientific schools and other schools, and I think it is also true that in the conduct of government there has been no period in our history where what we call in the wrong sense politics and in the wrong sense politicians enter less than they do today in the conduct of government. I find, for the sake of example, that in my own mind and, I am quite sure, in the minds of most of the leaders of the Federal Government, qualification from the standpoint of ability rather than from politics enters into most of the choices that are made. There are, of course, repercussions to that. Sometimes appointments are

made and people are called in to serve their country, and weeks go by before anybody discovers which party they happen to belong to. I couldn't tell you today the party affiliations of probably the majority of people holding responsible positions in Washington, and it is a mighty good thing that I cannot.

I go back a great many years in calling on Yale men for help. One of the most pleasant surprises this morning was the statement by the Dean of the School of Forestry that this year's graduates were not present because they were already at work, and I looked down at Gifford Pinchot and smiled and he knew what I meant. Twenty years ago, or, more than that, twenty-two years ago, when I was a youngster in the State Legislature, for some perfectly unknown reason I was made the Chairman of a Committee -- I think it was because nobody else wanted the Chairmanship -- on Forests, Fish and Game. It was a subject about which I knew very little. I discovered immediately that one of the problems before us was the denudation of the Adirondacks. Timber had been cut there without rhyme or reason or thought and many of the upper slopes were being washed away until only the bare rock appeared. I began to take an interest and I sent a letter to the Chief Forester of the United States, asking him to come

to Albany to advise me and the Legislature, and Gifford Pinchot came up there and delivered a professorial lecture. He was one of the first of the brain trusters.

And the thing that sold it to the layman's mind -- to the mind of the average member of the Assembly or the Senate -- was not so much what he said as what he showed -- photographs of North China, a region once covered with magnificent forests, a region which today is a desert. We passed our legislation and that was the first step towards practical government supervised forestry so far as I know in the eastern part of the country. It started me on the conservation road. From that time on, in company with a great many other graduates of Yale, we have gone ahead by the slow process of education until today the whole country, I believe, is thoroughly familiar with the purpose of the great national plan for the better use of land and water throughout our continental limits.

I cite this merely as an example of what may grow from the enthusiasm of men. There are hundreds of other things we are doing today that are new, and the government of this country is seeking to progress in all of the affairs of governing the country in the same way that the great universities of this country have succeeded because they would

never stand still. Harvard and Yale have pointed the way in education for a great many generations, and today Harvard and Yale stand out in the world of education as being willing to experiment -- thank God.

Just so long as that spirit remains in our education, and, as President Conant suggested, we have still quite a way to go to catch up with the 17th Century, and just so long as that spirit is abroad in education, we need not worry about the future of the Nation.

I want to say one word about the national point of view. Ever since I graduated from college I have been more and more interested in the proposal, today in part a fact, that these great eastern universities should make themselves national in so far as it lies within their power, and the body of graduates of Yale and the body of graduates of Harvard every year are increasing the useful influence of the two universities in all of the sections of this country. The danger for all of us graduates, especially, I believe, of the larger eastern universities, lies in a narrowness of point of view -- the living within the confines of one's own community, of living within one's own profession and of typifying too greatly the man who is described by the West as the man who never went west of the Hudson River. To get to

know our country is going to help us, not only individually but our own government. We hear much in the more erudite press of the East about members of the legislative branch of the National Government who are usually set down as "local politicians". And yet in that body we must remember the simple fact that they do represent every state and every congressional district throughout the length and breadth of the land and that the cross-section of American public opinion is better displayed in the Halls of Congress than it is in any aggregation of educated citizens having purely the local point of view. After all, we are -- whether we like it or not -- living in a democracy. I like it. We are going to continue to live in a democracy.

The fact that the influence of Harvard and Yale is becoming more cosmopolitan and more nation-wide as each year goes by is one of the finest things to which we can point and the effort that we lend to that end one of the finest things we can do for our alma mater.

So, my friends, because Harvard and Yale have gone through these centuries hand in hand, I am very happy to belong to both of them.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Cape Haitien, Haiti
July 6, 1934

(The President in opening his remarks spoke in French and said in effect: That it gave him the greatest possible pleasure to visit Haiti and that he was most appreciative of the cordial reception that had been extended to him; that 18 years ago he had made a speech in French at Port au Prince and thought that perhaps it would be better on this occasion to make his address in English.)

Mr. President: I am very happy to come back to Cape Haitien. I shall always remember as long as I live this week which I had the privilege of spending in the Republic of Haiti.

I am glad to come back especially at a time when the relationship between the Republic of Haiti and the Republic of the United States will be restored to a basis of complete independence.

I am glad that, as a result of the visit of President Vincent to Washington, as he has so well said, two out of three points which we considered have already been consummated or are about to be consummated.

Very soon, within I think a month or six weeks, the last Americans who have served here with the Garde de Haiti and with the Marines will leave the Republic of Haiti.

That is not all; I am very hopeful and am very certain that when these Americans leave your shores you will think of them with the spirit of friendship and that you will be happy in the days to come remembering that they tried to help the people of Haiti and so when they go, Mr. President, I am certain also that you will carry on the same spirit of friendship between our peoples which must always exist in the future. We shall have the same confidence, closer relationships of commerce and also something that you desire far more than commerce, and that is a spirit of understanding and a spirit of friendship between not only our two peoples but also our two governments.

And so, Mr. President, I am happy to come here once more. I wish that I had the opportunity to go from one end of the Republic to the other. In this short visit, I want to thank you for your hospitality; and I want to thank you for the great pains to which you have gone to make my visit most comfortable, and I want to drink to the health of the President of Haiti, to the Government of Haiti, and to the people of Haiti. May our friendship ever continue.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
San Juan, Puerto Rico
July 7, 1934

My friends and fellow citizens of Puerto Rico: Never as long as I live shall I forget the warmth of your reception to me yesterday and today. The drive from Mayaguez to Ponce and then across the island to San Juan gave me again the wonderful picture of your wonderful island.

I was here thirty years ago and it seems to me that in these years a great deal of progress has been made but I believe, also, that the progress that you have made in the past is very small compared with the progress that you are going to make in the future.

One thing that seemed to be very clear was that your problems here on the island are very much the same kind of problems that we have in many other parts of the United States. They are social problems and economic problems, and the same methods that we use to solve them in other parts of the country will be applied here in Puerto Rico.

I believe in better homes -- that means bringing back a better family life, better living conditions, a better chance for education, and a better chance for every

person to earn their livelihood. That we shall have better health conditions because bad health conditions are caused by a lack of opportunity to earn one's bread and so, my friends, with the help of our Government in Washington and with the splendid help of the Island Government and of the Governor, I am looking forward to the solving of these problems just as fast here in the Island as we will solve them in the continental part of the United States.

We cannot accomplish everything in one year. In fact, we must look ahead for a great many years, and that is why we have all come to an agreement in principle for the rehabilitation of Puerto Rico. That plan, of course, will take a great many years to accomplish, but I hope and I am confident that all of you will do your part in making the plan a success.

So, my friends, I wish very much that I could stay here for many weeks and see many parts of the Island that I have not had the opportunity of visiting. I hope to come back here not once but many times and see what you have done, and that I will see that a great deal of progress has been made.

I know that you will cooperate with us in what we are trying to do for the United States -- not only here but

in all parts of the Nation. And so, my friends, I am not going to say good-by but au revoir.

It has been good to see you again in Puerto Rico and many thanks for your splendid spirit. I shall never forget how good you have been to me on this visit.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands
July 7, 1934

Upon leaving the Houston at St. Thomas, V. I., the President was greeted by Dr. Viggo Christensen, Chairman of the Colonial Council, Municipality of St. Thomas and St. John.

Dr. Christensen remarked:

"Mr. President: On the occasion of your setting foot today on our island, I have the honor and pleasure on behalf of the inhabitants to greet you and to wish you welcome.

"This is a day of anticipation and of joy, a day of hope. The hearts of a people go out to you, conscious of what you have done for them while leader of the Nation, confident of your solicitude for them in the coming days, encouraged by your presence.

"Welcome to St. Thomas."

The President replied:

"I am glad to get back after thirty years."

After returning to the Houston, the President received the members of the Colonial Council of St. Thomas and St. John in the Commander-in-Chief's Cabin. Prior to their departure, the President made the following remarks to the members of the Council: